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BANCROFT'S
MAP OF THE
COLORADO MINES
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VOLUME XII • NUMBER I

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BANCROFT'S GUIDE TO THE COLORADO MINES

FOREWORD

ARIZONA, in 1863, was one of the most remote and the least known of all the territorial possessions of the United States. Acquired partly by conquest and partly by purchase it was formed by the division of New Mexico which had been ceded in 1848 by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and a portion of the North Mexican states acquired by the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. Picturesque explorers and conquistadores had been through portions of it three centuries earlier, but colonization and civilization had never reached Arizona. There were a few forts and places of habitation, but almost all of the entire scanty population if not soldiers were prospectors who had been drawn there by the glittering promises of mineral wealth.

Arid and inhospitable, it offered but few attractions. The murderous Apaches directed by the sinister Cochise and the wily Mangas Coloradas had scourged the land, exacting terrible toll from many whites who unhappily crossed their trails. In 1862, the powerful Navajo nation exhibited a determined opposition to the rule of the United States government. This was met drastically and conclusively by the valiant and capable Kit Carson. The treaty which he effected brought the Navajo to an understanding of the far-reaching power of the United States government. And to that government there was borne a wholesome respect for the strength and resources of the Navajo warriors.

Remote as it was, the Civil War had reached Arizona. In July, 1861, Confederate troops under the command of the Texan, Colonel John R. Baylor, took possession of Arizona and New Mexico. Early in 1862 a band of about 300 irregular troops commanded by Captain Hunter marched into Tucson and raised the flag of the Southern Confederacy. This ambitious move was met and promptly checked by the Californian column which was composed of about 1800 men of infantry and cavalry. Colonel James H. Carleton was commander and among his officers was the famous Captain John C. Cremony. One skirmish took place April 15 at a spot known as El Picacho. The Confederates were repulsed and driven from Arizona.

The white population at this time barely exceeded 2,000. The Mexicans and those whose mixed blood unfitted them for citizenship numbered about 4,000. The Indians were estimated to be about 25,000, mostly hostile. Among the early white inhabitants there were a number who later became notable in both military and civil life. In general character these pioneers were very similar to those who formed the human society of all western settlements. They have been described by a recent writer, graphically and not untruthfully:

Breezy and picturesque were these early pioneers—almost without exception. They were strong men and bold, but they were nearly all frail men too. Most of them exemplified both the virtues and the vices of their time and place.

The most potent character who ever came to Arizona was John Barleycorn. . . . John B. came early and long survived, and few were the men of that early day upon whom he did not set his mark. It is not strange that men drank and gambled almost universally in that time, for human existence was as arid as surrounding nature, and it was far more pleasant and practicable to irrigate the human system with alcohol than to bring water to the land.

A land with a few forts and squalid villages; a frontier population scant and nomadic; with neither laws, courts, nor seat of government; without railroads, highways or telegraphs; with but one newspaper; practically devoid of all of the factors which constitute civilized society; inhospitable and uninviting; thus was Arizona in 1863, when on February 24 it was created a territory of the United States.

Its future history and possibilities of growth were noted by Hubert Howe Bancroft, whose wide and clear vision foresaw one of its insistent needs. In that same year of 1863, he published a little pamphlet entitled: "Guide to the Colorado Mines," accompanied by an excellent map of much importance. Issued in a printed wrapper, the sixteen pages of contents, unlike most guidebooks, contain no historical descriptions. They are confined wholly to various routes of travel and distances, with some very necessary remarks upon water and forage. This little work would not appear to have been used extensively, for very few copies are now extant.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

NOTE BY THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

We are indebted to Mr. W. R. Parker, of Oroville, for permission to reproduce the map from "Bancroft's Guide to the Colorado Mines," and Mr. Parker has also made available to us the text which follows. His copy is bound in cloth pressed to represent leather, and the title appears in gold letters on the cover. Since this rare guide was brought to our attention it has been discovered that a copy (hitherto uncatalogued) is in the possession of the California State Library. In our reproduction the map has been somewhat reduced in size.

During 1863 the San Francisco newspapers carried many articles with respect to the mining districts in the Colorado River basin in Arizona, including a descriptive editorial in the *Alta California* for May 22, 1863, and an interesting letter from Herman Ehrenberg entitled "The Colorado Mines" which appeared in the *Alta* three days later. Ehrenberg, a German engineer and explorer, was in Texas during the revolution, crossed the plains to Oregon in 1844, arrived in California in 1848, and is said to have discovered the mouth of the Klamath River and the so-called "Gold Bluff" in 1850. He published a map of that region. In 1854 he was in Sonora with one of the filibustering expeditions, and later became a pioneer of Arizona, where the town of Ehrenberg on the Colorado River has perpetuated his name. He was murdered by Indians at Dos Palmas on the Colorado Desert on October 9, 1866. (Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 789; *Alta California*, October 18 and 31, 1866.) He had much to do with the development of the mining districts in the basin of the Colorado River.

For an account of the early use of various routes across the Colorado Desert, see Beattie, George W., "Development of travel between Southern Arizona and Los Angeles as it related to the San Bernardino Valley," in Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. *Annual Publications*, Vol. XIII, Part II, 1925, pp. 228-57.

GUIDE TO THE COLORADO MINES

MODES OF TRAVEL, OUTFIT, &C.

PARTIES starting from San Francisco for these mines may proceed entirely overland, or, taking the steamer for San Pedro, make part of the journey by sea. Those having their own animals, especially in the vicinity of Stockton, or anywhere to the south of that place, may find it expedient to go by the route first mentioned. By taking their own animals, they would save the expense of buying, and be likely to get better stock than if purchasing in the lower country; yet, if starting as far north as this place, they will have 400 miles of additional land travel to make, and will, unless extra care is used, find their animals considerably jaded before arriving at the really difficult portion of their journey. It will require ten days to make these 400 miles, which could be made by steamer in three. About Los Angeles and San Bernardino riding-animals can be bought cheaper than in the country further north—the price ranging from \$25 to \$40—yet they are generally indifferent stock, being mustangs or half-breeds, and, as a usual thing, not well broken to the saddle. Mules are by far the best animals for a journey of this kind, especially for packing, and, it is useless to say, should be in the best possible condition at the start.

In regard to outfit, every thing should be selected with care and of the first quality. Particularly should the backs of the animals be thoroughly protected, and the saddles made to fit well. Extra blankets should be taken along to place under the saddle, as the animal falls away. The latter should always be shod. It will hardly be worth while to pack provisions or bulky articles from remote points, as goods of all kinds can be bought in Los Angeles and San Bernardino within a fraction of San Francisco prices. The miner should, however, provide himself, before starting, with arms suitable for going into an Indian country. These should consist of a revolver, rifle, and, where there is a party, several shot-guns for taking small game. Every man should have a canteen holding at least a gallon, and it is generally good policy to take along saddles, blankets and riding equipage. It may be well to remind the adventurer, that he is going into a warm climate, where no great amount of heavy clothing will be required, though the nights are sometimes cool, and an extra blanket might be of service.

VARIOUS ROUTES AND TABLES OF DISTANCES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO LOS ANGELES VIA FORT TEJON AND
SAN FERNANDO PASS

This is a good route for parties who intend camping out, there being no stretch of more than nineteen miles, and but two or three of this distance, without plenty of grass and water. Wood, sufficient for camp purposes, is also to be had most of the way.

	MILES		MILES
San Francisco to Clark's, . . .	12	Mountain House,	12
Sun Water,	9	Posey Creek,	15
Redwood City,	9	Gordon's Ferry,	10
Mountain View,	12	Kern River Slough,	12
Santa Clara,	8	Sink Tejon,	15
San Jose,	3	Canada de las Uvas,	10
Stage Station,	17	Fort Tejon,	5
Gilroy,	13	Gorman's,	8
Pacheco Pass,	18	Beal's Ranch,	11
St. Louis Ranch,	17	Lievra,	3
Lone Willow,	18	Mud Springs,	12
Temple's Ranch,	13	Lake Elizabeth,	4
Firebaugh's Ferry,	15	Jose Juan's,	1
Fresno City,	19	Smith's,	8
Elk Horn Spring,	22	King's,	10
Whitmore's Ferry,	17	Hart's,	12
Cross Creek,	12	San Fernando Mission,	8
Visalia,	12	Canuengo, [sic]	12
Backwood Creek,	12	Los Angeles,	12
Tule River,	14		—
Fountain Spring,	14	Total,	466

The above is the route and distances as traveled by the overland stage, when in operation. There is another, and fifty miles shorter route, between San Francisco and Los Angeles, being that *via* San Juan, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Barbara, traveled by the present stage, and preferable to the other during the winter and seasons of high water.

Parties starting from Stockton and going to Los Angeles over the Tejon route, should proceed up the San Joaquin valley, joining this route at Visalia.

	MILES		MILES
Stockton to Heath and Emory's, . .	28	Fresno,	16
Dickinson's Ferry,	21	Millerton,	15
Snelling's,	13	King's River,	25
Hornitas,	16	Visalia,	28
Chowchilla,	25		—
Total,			187

When at Gordon's Ferry, horsemen may save ten or twelve miles by proceeding through the Tejon Pass *via* the Indian Reservation, rejoining the other road two miles north of Lake Elizabeth. There is one stage on this route of nineteen miles across the west end of the Mojave Desert, without water. Balance of way, plenty of grass and water. Teams go by the Fort, Tejon Pass being impracticable for wagons.

	MILES		MILES
Gordon's Ferry to the Park,	14	To the Desert,	12
Indian Reservation,	8	To junction of road,	17
To Pass,	10		—
Through Pass,	10	Total,	71

Parties starting from the San Joaquin, or Tulare Valley, to go to these mines overland, should not, however, go to Los Angeles at all, but when half a mile south of Jose Juan's Ranch, turn to the left and proceed to San Bernardino through Chicopolas Valley and the Cajon Pass, as fully fifty miles can be saved by doing so.

	MILES		MILES
Jose Juan's to Chicopolas Ranch,	12	Johnson's Creek,	7
To the Desert,	10	Cajon Pass,	14
Degroot's Creek,	18	Divide,	10
Palm Creek,	5	Martin's,	10
Rock Creek,	6	San Bernardino,	12

FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO THE COLORADO MINES VIA SAN PEDRO,
SAN BERNARDINO, AND THE BIG WASH

This will be the route by which three-fourths of those going to the Colorado from the northern part of California will find it most desirable to proceed. Steamers leave San Francisco for San Pedro about three times each month, making the passage, 400 miles, in about two and a half days. Price of passage, \$25 in the cabin, \$15 in the steerage. Freight \$10 per ton. This will, therefore, as a general thing, be the most economical and expeditious mode of travel to those starting as far north as San Francisco.

	MILES
From San Pedro to Los Angeles,	23

This distance is made by stage; fare, \$2.50. The intervening country is a rich, grassy plain, with but few settlements and watering places. The inhabitants of San Bernardino are engaged opening a road from San Pedro to that place, by way of Anaheim and up the Santa Ana River, which they claim will shorten the distance *via* the Los Angeles road, from fifteen to twenty miles.

	MILES		MILES
Los Angeles to San Gabriel Mission,	12	Dr. Edgar's,	8
El Monte,	12	Dr. Smith's,	2
San Jose (Mud Springs),	12	Chapin's Sheep Ranch,	4
Cocomungo,	12	Potrero Genio Creek,	2
San Bernardino,	25	Antonio Creek,	2
Old S. B. Mission,	8	Grant's Creek,	3
Frink's (San Timoteo Ranch),	7		

These three creeks cannot always be depended upon, as they are often shut off by the settlers above for irrigation, and some of them dry up at the point where the road crosses, late in the season.

Up to Grant's Creek, the road, with the exception of eight or ten miles between Cocomungo and San Bernardino, has been hard and free from sand. Here the heavy sand commences, and will be encountered in spots all the way to the Colorado, fully one-half the road being more or less sandy.

MILES

Grant's Creek to Indian Run, 5

This place (sometimes called One-Horse Spring) is situated one and one-half mile south of the road, being a small stream of pure cold water which in its descent from the mountain forms a beautiful cascade, seen for several miles. There is a little coarse bunch grass along it, being about the only feed in the neighborhood. The stream sinks in the sand, here very deep, before reaching the main road.

MILES

Indian Run to Agua Blanco (White River), 2

This is a large stream of pure cold water, coming down from Mount San Bernardino, and which, after crossing the road twice, runs along it for a mile and a quarter, when it bears off to the north-east, and, after running a few hundred yards, sinks in the sand.

MILES

Agua Blanco to Agua Caliente, 10

Here the Indians, who are Christianized, under their principal chief, Juan Antonio, have a large settlement, and cultivate the land, raising corn, barley, vegetables, &c., all of which they readily sell to the whites, when they happen to have any on hand. They are friendly and well-behaved, as are all the Indians along this part of the route, and if justly dealt with, will not be likely to give any cause for trouble. There are also a great many civilized Indians in the vicinity of Cocomungo and at other points along the road, there being a large village a couple of miles east of Frink's Ranch.

The proper place to camp here is one mile east of the village, where animals will not disturb the Indians' patches of corn and grain, which are unfenced, and where there is fine water and grass a few hundred yards south of the road. Agua Caliente takes its name from a large spring of warm sulphur water three or four rods to the left, as we enter the village from the west. It forms a large pool, of proper depth and temperature for bathing, for which it would be well adapted were the mud cleaned out.

MILES

Agua Caliente to Sand Hole, 11

This is a muddy pool about 400 yards east of the road, and which, as it consists only of a collection of rain-water in a small clay basin, is always bad, and dries up early in the summer. It is not to be depended upon except for a few months in the spring, and then only in case of a wet winter. There is a little grass, of a poor quality, two miles south-west of it, the only feed anywhere about.

MILES

Sand Hole to Old Rancharia, 6

Here there is water, with a little grass, two miles west of the road. The track from Agua Caliente to this point, heavy sand.

MILES

Old Rancharia to Toro's, 9

Here there is another Indian settlement similar to that at Agua Caliente, with plenty of mesquit wood, grass, and water, the latter, however, not of very good quality, the grass being coarse and salty, and the water brackish.

MILES

Toro's to Martinez, 5

This is a good piece of road. The only water here is in a few small wells, most of them a quarter of a mile from the road, and soon exhausted. This is another Indian village, much scattered, but containing several adobe structures, makes a more pretentious appearance than the others. Corn and sometimes barley can be had here. The place is embowered with mesquit trees, which grow with great luxuriance, the bean being gathered in large quantities by the natives. It forms an excellent food for animals when they get accustomed to its use. Five miles to the north-east of Martinez is another and still larger village, called after its head man, Cabizon.

MILES

From Martinez to Palma Seca (Soda Springs), 12

Road heavy most of the way. Here there are several deep pools of limpid, but very bad water, being strongly impregnated with soda and sulphur. There is but little grass, and as animals do not like the water, it affords but an indifferent camping place.

MILES

From Palma Seca to Dos Palmas, 7

Heavy sand most of the way. Here also is a deep pool of soft soda-water, but of a more palatable kind than at Palma Seca. It discharges a large stream, which, flowing down, has caused several acres of salt grass and tule to spring up near by. Animals do not much relish this kind of feed, and the traveler will do better to take his stock three miles to the south-west, where there are several large springs, or ponds, of better water, with an abundance of cane grass, on which they will do well. Enough of mesquit here, as there will be found at nearly all camping places, from here on, for fuel.

There is a talk of shifting the road further south, between here and Martinez, whereby a harder track will be secured.

MILES

From Dos Palmas to the Cañon in Brown's Pass, 10

Most of the distance the road is hard and good. A mile east of Dos Palmas the Fort Yuma road turns off to the south-east. The Cañon is a narrow gorge running out of Brown's Pass, or, as it is generally called, the Big Wash, to the north, leaving the Wash at its narrowest part. There is a spring of good water on

the right, going up the Cañon, one-fourth of a mile from its mouth; also a pool at its head half a mile further up. No grass here.

Cañon to Tabasacca, MILES 8

This place is two miles west of the wagon road. Plenty of good water, and a moderate amount of bunch grass. No fuel.

A few miles east of the Cañon Frink's new road, said to be shorter and better supplied with water, bears off to the left, striking the river nearer the mines and above the Bradshaw trail.

Tabasacca to Chucolwalla, MILES 18

About one-half the way heavy sand, plenty of water, with wood and grass. Animals, however, had better be kept up, as there is a species of cactus in this section of country very abundant, which, fastening upon them when suffered to run loose, causes great trouble. The Indians will bring enough grass to keep an animal a whole day for a couple of bits.

Chucolwalla to the Slough, MILES 35

About one-third of the way heavy sand, one-third sharp, volcanic stones, hard on the horses' feet; balance, good road. Water is reported to have been found half way across this stretch since the writer passed over. This is no doubt the case, as there are good signs of water at the point indicated. Plenty of wood and grass on this part of the route.

Slough to Bradshaw's Ferry, MILES 6

This stretch leads over the sand valley of the river, and is heavy traveling at all times, besides being crossed by numerous sloughs, difficult of passage during the stage of high water.

From Los Angeles to Fort Mojave, the latter at least 100 miles above the mines, the distance, as measured by viameter, is 310 miles, subdivided as follows:

	MILES		MILES
From Los Angeles to San Gabriel		To Desert,	10
Creek,	14	Sink Mojave,	120
Cocomungo Creek,	24	Fort Mojave,	103
South side Cajon Pass,	20		—
North side Cajon Pass,	19	Total,	310

A TRIP TO THE COLORADO MINES IN 1862

FROM THE REMINISCENCES OF MAHLON DICKERSON FAIRCHILD*

UPON discontinuing hydraulic mining at North San Juan, Nevada County, California, in the summer of 1862, a retrospective contemplation brought to memory the following facts: That previous to investing money there I had been a reasonably successful miner of placer-working river bars and beds. That when I consented to relieve my brother, Theodore Tracy Fairchild, and cousins Eugene and Myron Angel, by assisting them in opening their hydraulic mines at North San Juan, in 1855, I knew but little of hydraulic operations and their cost. That I put in my ready capital anticipating its return several fold in no very great length of time. That instead of the early return of the money I had kept on working river beds continuously for six more years with fair success, and had likewise devoted all profits accruing therefrom to pay for tunneling and equipment of the hydraulic property. That the investment had been unfortunate. That by connecting myself with that enterprise I had deprived myself of means to have made me one of the foremost owners—and first mill owner—upon the great Comstock lode. That subsequent efforts to gain a foothold upon the Comstock had resulted in the death of my partner and cousin, Eugene Angel.

Such thoughts tended me to search for new fields to explore. About this time flattering reports of rich gold discoveries came from below the Colorado River in the "Gadsden Purchase." Correspondents had been sent there by the live newspapers of San Francisco and the reported rich discoveries were confirmed. One of these correspondents was Dr. Henry De Groot, who wrote for the *San Francisco Bulletin*, then published by Pickering & Fitch, and considered among the most conservative and reliable journals in all the West. Reading Dr. De Groot's letters determined me to make further inquiry, and, going to San Francisco, I interviewed persons who had recently returned from the new El Dorado. These reported favorably, were preparing outfits to go back to that locality, which I thought they would not do unless satisfied the venture was a good one, and I determined to go. As a further inducement to go in that direction, word had previously reached San Juan that at some point near the Colorado River, Joe Good and Nat Lewis, formerly of that place but later from Virginia City, Nevada, in

*The author of these reminiscences was born on September 7, 1827, at Oneonta, Otsego County, New York, of revolutionary parentage. He enlisted for service in the Mexican War, but was prevented by illness from seeing active service. After some years in the Middle West, at Lansing, Michigan, and Galena, Illinois, during which time he learned the printer's trade, he returned to the east and was at Newark, Wayne County, New York, when the news of the California gold discoveries arrived in the eastern states. He joined a party known as the "Ganargua Mining Company," and proceeded to California via Panama, reaching San Francisco on the whaleship *Sylph* on July 26, 1849. He at once proceeded to Sacramento, and engaged in mining on Bear River. During the middle fifties he lived at North San Juan, being interested in an hydraulic mine. In 1859 and again in 1860 he made trips to "Washoe," and in 1862 he went to the Colorado River Mines. In 1865 he was connected with the *Reese River Reveille* in Nevada, and inspected mining property in the White Pine District. After some years in Nevada he returned to California where he and his cousin, Myron Angel, wrote the *History of Nevada* which was published by Thompson and West of Oakland. Fairchild wrote the *History of Placer County*, also published by Thompson and West. He was a member of the Society of California Pioneers, and resided in Oakland until his death on April 18, 1913.

We are indebted to Mr. Fairchild's granddaughter, Miss Lucy Watters, of Oakland, for permission to reproduce this excerpt from his reminiscences. It is to be hoped that they may one day be published in full, as they are of great interest and should eventually be put into permanent form.

company with John Moss, had discovered silver mines equal to those of Washoe. If such should prove true, and the placers said to exist near the river lower down be found undesirable, the newly found district discovered by Good, Lewis and Moss could be visited with prospective probability of reward.

With bright hopes I made arrangements to start for the new diggings. A man named Bartlett whom I met at San Francisco, recently from that locality, told me that, there being a scarcity of water, most of the gold was recovered by "dry washing," and that the Indians there had many nuggets which they would freely exchange for bright silver coin at much less than their actual value. Acting upon this suggestion I went to the Mint at San Francisco, deposited one thousand dollars in gold dust, and received two thousand newly coined half dollars—thus preparing myself to turn an honest penny by "swapping" with the unsophisticated natives.

At this juncture I was joined by two acquaintances—one Daniel Waitt, from Folsom, the other Wesley Sharp who had worked in my hydraulic mine—both of whom had been attracted by the glowing reports from the new El Dorado and were going there. Waitt subsequently became my partner in locations made in the El Dorado Canyon District.

On the morning of August 17, 1862, we sailed from San Francisco upon the steamer *Brother Jonathan* and arrived at San Pedro, the port for Los Angeles, on the 19th and reached the latter place by stage the same evening.

Los Angeles at that period had never experienced a "boom." Most of the houses were one-story adobes. The most pretentious building in the place was of brick—the Bella Union Hotel—owned by Dr. Winston and kept by John King. Fremont's [!] old earthworks thrown up for defense against the Californians during the war with Mexico were yet in plain evidence upon the little hill adjacent. Stage coaches came in via San Joaquin Valley, Tejon Pass, Yuma, Santa Barbara and intervening stations, subsidized to carry the overland mails—there being no railroads contemplated for that part of California. *Carne seco* in bundles, and red peppers, *Chiles colorada*, in strings, with *pinole* and various other native edibles were exhibited on sale at every "*fonda*" in town. The Spanish language was more common than English. Land in the immediate suburbs went unsold when offered for two and a half dollars an acre. Freight was in many instances hauled in two-wheeled "*carretas*" drawn by two oxen "yoked" by pieces of wood fastened to their heads with rawhide thongs lashed to the horns, and the creaking of these ancient vehicles was suppressed by the application of the black "*brea*" that oozed up through the soil at the very doors of the houses where now many producing oil wells are developed. At the time of which I write, however, there was more of a stir in town than had been usual, for there were a goodly number of prospectors there outfitting for the trip for the new mines near the Colorado. This brought residents of the locality to town with wagons and teams, and with saddle horses, pack mules and burros, for hire and sale. Among those who came with teams was Charles Cunningham who resided at El Monte, twelve miles east of Los Angeles. He had made one trip to the Colorado River from which he had just returned,

and wore a grass hat that he had procured from the Indians there, the possession of which was sufficient proof to us that he had been there. He gave a good account of the country which stimulated our desire to get there, and we elected to go with him. To make up a load sufficient to pay Cunningham for the trip eight persons had to be enlisted. This accomplished, the party started from Los Angeles August 23. I had my own saddle horse. My agreement with Cunningham was that he would haul my provisions, tools, blankets and carpet-bag containing my two thousand pieces of silver for the sum of one hundred and ten dollars to be paid upon their safe delivery at the Colorado River. Half a dozen of the party, having no riding animals, paid for riding in the wagon, and from a financial view the load must have been profitable. We journeyed along from day to day, camping at nights at the following places: El Monte, Cocomungo, San Bernardino, San Timoteo, San Gorgonio Pass, Agua Caliente, Indian villages and Martinez. At the Indian villages there was an epidemic of measles and it was pitiable to see the results.

The weather was very hot; children with skins spotted with the disease, in what the whites would call a "nice" condition, would be sprinkled with water ejected from the mouths of the squaws to cool them off. This treatment would check the favorable progress of the disease, and during the short time I was there a score or more infants died. I went to one of their huts in the evening and witnessed the weird incantations and contortions of an Indian medicine man as he vainly strove to arrest the progress of the disease. It is difficult to describe his movements and I shall not attempt to do so. Generally the Indian huts were made of stout posts about five feet high with sides and roof thatched with boughs and coarse grass. Into several of these I saw them pile infant corpses with clothing and various other things and set them afire. Being of light material and very dry, they burned rapidly, cremating the little bodies to the mournful wailings of the afflicted members, male and female, of the tribe—Coachuillas.

At Martinez village where we arrived on the first of September, we had to procure water by a very tedious process. The Indians had wells some twelve or fifteen feet deep into which seeped a small quantity of water. Down into these we were compelled to go upon poles with notches cut [along them for steps. The water was dipped up, a cupful at a time, poured] into a bucket and carried to the surface. No more than three or four buckets could be obtained in an hour.

As our progress seemed too slow, myself and another of the party who was supplied with a riding animal determined to leave the wagon and travel ahead. Accordingly we provided ourselves with jerked beef and *pinole* which we fastened to our saddles, each with a canteen of water, mounted our animals and soon were in the advance—out of sight of the party and wagon.

After we left the wagon at Martinez my companion and I traveled leisurely and camped the first night at Dos Palmas where there were large springs of tepid water that was potable. The country through which we had traveled seemed to have been the bed of a sea as the surface of the ground was covered with marine shells and a plainly defined water-mark existed upon the western side of an immense valley which stretched to the southward as far as the eye could reach.

Though we did not comprehend our situation, we were in fact then below sea level near the head of a former arm of the Gulf of California whose water had been shut off by a natural embankment of silt deposited by the Colorado River. From this depressed valley we took an easterly course over the higher mesa lands. Not knowing where the watering places beyond Dos Palmas were, when our canteens were empty we suffered from thirst, in which strait, near nightfall, we watched ravens and coveys of quail in an endeavor to trace them to water. Failing to find water in this way we would unsaddle our animals, tie them to the saddles with our riata, use the saddles as pillows and lie down for a nap—for sleep we could not call it. Our coverings were the saddle cloths, but we did not miss our blankets, for the hot sun during the day had warmed the ground to a comfortable degree for the night. As there were numerous large coveys of quail, and apparently no water, I made up my mind that they derived all the drink they required from the cacti of which there were many varieties, and I could see where hare had munched the cactus sprigs apparently for nothing more than the water they afforded.

Reaching a watering place called Tabasaca, there were two springs of very fair water, but no grass for the animals. Here were found the shells of a large tortoise the flesh of which had evidently been eaten by Indians, and we wondered how such a reptile could exist so far inland and in such a dry, hot climate. But that that was its habitat we subsequently found ample evidence, for we occasionally came across living specimens upon the rocky cacti covered ridges over which we traveled. I carried one into camp and cooked its flesh. It was about eighteen inches long, eight wide, and six thick. In dressing it I noticed that it fed on vegetation—cactus. Though there was considerable meat upon the carcass of the reptile, I admit that I did not relish it as well as I did the ordinary plain “jerky”—perhaps on account of the manner of cooking.

We tarried at Tabasaca but little longer time than to give our animals all the water they could drink, to wash and fill up ourselves, and to replenish our canteens. A half dozen miles beyond we found abundant growth of galleta grass and made a dry camp for the night for the benefit of our animals. About ten miles further brought us to Chuc-a-wal-lah, where we found plenty of water but no grass—all having been closely fed off by animals of parties who like ourselves were going to the newly discovered mines. By this time our supply of “grub” was very short and we determined to await the coming of the wagon provided we could find forage for the animals. Going several miles up a neighboring “wash” pretty good pasturage was found, and the animals were left there as we knew if they were inclined to wander after filling themselves with grass they would first come to water where we were camped. Therefore we settled ourselves at the spring expecting to see the wagon rolling in at any time. But it came not. It was very hot and there was no shade. About all we could do was to keep quiet and endure the torture upon the short rations. After our first night at Chucawalla a welcome visitor appeared. He was a white man, alone with a burro—a “squaw man”—living in the San Jacinto Mountains somewhere not far from Warner’s

ranch, with Indians. His business upon the desert trail I did not learn, for it was not "good form" to be too inquisitive under such conditions. He was well supplied with "jerky" and *pinole*, and was liberal with it. The *pinole* we had consumed and were accustomed to was made of parched corn, ground to a coarse powder; but that which our rescuer brought was of certain grass seeds gathered by squaws and pulverized. To us it was first rate diet at that juncture, and he gave us a liberal supply, with *carne seca* galore, for which he would accept no coin—and we had nothing else to offer. And of such men as he were the denizens of mountain and plain a half century ago.

We had arrived at Chucawalla on the morning of September 3, and about ten o'clock of the morning of the 7th, ourselves and animals being much recuperated, we determined to wait no longer the coming of the wagon and remainder of the party. It was my thirty-fifth birthday, remembering which I filled my canteen with Chuc-a-wal-lah "straight," saddled my mule, strapped my jerky and *pinole* to my saddle and set forth to celebrate the anniversary in the fashion of the plainsman far removed from his base of stimulating supplies. Jogging along over the heated mesa, cogitating upon the ups and downs of life, "the slings and arrows of fortune," and buoyed up with high hope of substantial recompense resultant upon the present expedition, a lapse of perhaps six miles disclosed to my vision a wagon apparently at camp. What was my surprise upon reaching it to find, among others, to be there, Myron Angel, my cousin.

Unknown to me he had gone to the new diggings, and not liking the outlook there, in company with William Haworth and one of the other two Los Angelesos, was en route to the settlements. The greetings were hearty, but the time we were together was necessarily short. Much valuable information was gathered from the returning party as to route, watering places, prospects at the diggings, et cetera, which, while interesting, tended to cloud former roseate anticipations. There being water where this party was camped, our animals drank their fill, as we replenished our canteens, procured additional jerky from our friends, and about four o'clock that afternoon parted company—the wagon [heading] toward San Bernardino and we two *caballeros* striking out toward that *terra incognita* (to us), the country contiguous to the great Colorado River of the West.

On account of the extreme heat of day it was pleasanter to travel by night provided the beaten trail could be followed. Once outside the road the most annoying of all the cacti family was encountered, whose sharp bearded spines would puncture alike mules' legs, boot, legging, and integument upon the slightest provocation, and cling with persistent tenacity, to the pain and disturbance of man or beast who encountered it. After riding about twenty miles that night we halted, unsaddled our beasts, and securing them, sought the warm earth, reclined our heads upon the saddles and reposed ourselves in sleep—remaining thus until about half past two o'clock in the morning when we made another start. These halts and night marches were not without their perils, for, escaping from rough cover, the "side-winder," a small sized "horned" rattlesnake, very venomous,

seemed to fancy the dusty road best, and were numerous in the trail and feared by the animals we were riding, and they, jumping aside to avoid the reptiles, would often encounter the terrible thorns of the cactus.

The traveler upon the desert frequently beholds wonderful displays if alert at early dawn or at evening twilight. The atmospheric changes impart great variety of illusory scenery. Distant mountain peaks that but for refraction would be scarcely visible stand out in bold relief above the horizon in curiously elongated shapes and ever varying outlines and colors—the changes occurring so rapidly with the movement of the sun as to form a weird and awe-inspiring panorama utterly indescribable.

Traveling about thirty-five miles from our last halting place, the sight of the Colorado River gladdened our eyes. We had reached Bradshaw's ferry, opposite the town of Olivia,¹ now Ehrenberg.² The ferry was established by William Bradshaw, a former member of several of Fremont's expeditions. A rude boat capable of carrying wagons and a limited number of animals, attached to a rope spanning the stream, the current being the propelling power, comprised the affair. The rates for ferriage were not exorbitant and it was of great convenience. On the tenth day of the month, the wagon and party we had left at Martinez arrived, all well, but with animals pretty badly used up. That afternoon a heavy thunder shower came up and as our sheltering capacity was limited all hands got a soaking, which we did not mind, however, as it was extremely warm. The display of lightning during the storm was awe-inspiring, but no damage was done. Upon the eleventh instant the party crossed the river and made camp on a large recently formed stony bar of perhaps twenty acres in extent that had been made within a month—the effect of a "cloudburst" which occurred in a range of hills about ten miles eastward while there was no rain at the river. During one night campers were awakened by a loud roaring noise that approached nearer and nearer, until at last through lightning flashes moving objects could be discerned coming seemingly as a solid wall. Onward it swept with grinding and roaring sound but a short distance away until it reached the river, and with it were earth, rocks and trees moving with irresistible force, cutting a chasm twenty feet deep and one hundred yards wide through the gently sloping mesa land, and spent its fury only when it struck the current of the broad Colorado, turned the channel from its course and formed the bar we camped upon.

Six miles up the Colorado River from Olivia, and several miles inland upon a slough, was located the town of La Paz, then the main distributing point for the

1. The town of Olivia, some six miles down the Colorado River from La Paz, was named by Myron Angel, cousin of Mahlon D. Fairchild and founder of the town, in honor of Miss Olive Oatman who had recently been rescued from the Mohave Indians by the military forces at Fort Yuma. (See Stratton, R. B., *Captivity of the Oatman Girls*, San Francisco, 1857.)

2. The town of Ehrenberg was named for Herman Ehrenberg, pioneer of the Colorado River basin, and was located upon the site of the former town of Olivia. At another point in his reminiscences, Fairchild says:

"At this writing (1904) the town of Olivia of 1863 has become 'Ehrenberg' . . . Ehrenberg is not an inappropriate name, being that of an energetic German surveyor of the pioneer era of that region whom I have met during many a weary pilgrimage, and who for years was exploring and mapping portions of Sonora, New Mexico and Arizona. The last time I met Mr. Ehrenberg was at the old Tehama House, kept by Frink, corner of California and Sansome streets, San Francisco, in 1863—the present site of the Bank of California. A year later Mr. Ehrenberg was coming from the Colorado River to San Bernardino, and while camping at Dos Palmas was murdered—said to have been killed by Indians. He was an intelligent man, a hardy, fearless, frontier explorer, and deserved a better fate."

mines. Its site was upon a level mesa where there was no potable water, which indispensable necessity had to be hauled there in barrels mounted upon wheels and drawn by mules, or was carried by Indians and Mexicans in *ollas* upon their heads. Steamers could land at Olivia, and one arrived there a few days after we did, in several days' transit from Fort Yuma. La Paz in time was abandoned. Ehrenberg was erected over the forgotten Olivia, and is now (1904) the distributing point for all that region.

After delivering his load safely at its destination, Mr. Cunningham remained three or four days to permit his wearied animals to graze upon good pasture abundant upon the Colorado River bottom lands, and then started upon the return to Los Angeles. Subsequently, while traveling with a companion upon the east side of the river, after having brought another party through, both were killed by Indians. I have regretted his untimely fate; for, over a desert route as in no other place can one learn manhood in mankind—and I regarded Charley Cunningham as a noble fellow. He had a good home and a fine family at El Monte. In penetrating an Indian country in those days it behooved the wayfarer to be constantly upon the alert. Familiarity and frequent passage unmolested, however, with and among Indians are apt to beget carelessness. And that was the probable fault of Cunningham, as it has been with scores of others I know who were taken off the same way. They discounted the natural instinct of a treacherous race, became trustful and unwary—and that was their undoing.³

³. Want of space forbids the publication at this time of the remainder of Fairchild's narrative of his Colorado River experiences. His route to the river was that described in *Bancroft's Guide to the Colorado Mines*, reprinted elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*, and his journey, day by day, may readily be traced on the map which accompanies that guide.

ALEXANDER S. TAYLOR, 1817-1876

FIRST BIBLIOGRAPHER OF CALIFORNIA

At the commencement of the year 1848, California contained about two thousand people speaking English, twelve thousand speaking Spanish, and numerous petty tribes of wandering Indians. She had a few small towns and settlements, her commerce was insignificant; her boundaries and territories cursorily explored, or almost unknown, the base of her population nomadic, ignorant, indolent and unsettled; her occupation the pastoral life; her choice lands and points of approach covered by titles which had been completed in such a manner as to be a perpetual bone of strife and litigation to her future population. A newly-conquered country; her coast unknown, her harbors unfrequented; her merchants petty shopkeepers; her markets the most distant in the world from supplies; laws few and but little understood; no exportable products but a few hides and tallow; and, to crown all, a year's distance from the governing power—a power whose experience and policy had been entirely pacific and commercial until within a very brief period; and who had just at this time discharged fifty thousand soldiers—restless of labor, and panting for new fields of excitement and conquest. Thus she lay—a country peculiarly and most critically situated to receive the coming storm of events.

THE date of January 24, 1848, is of the utmost importance in the history of California, but in its wider significance it is also one of the few greatest events in the history of the civilized world. On that memorable day gold was discovered at Coloma. Means and methods of communication were necessarily slow but in an incredibly brief period of time, so infectious was the fever of excitement that the news had reached even the most remote parts of the globe. In that earliest motley and variegated band of adventurers, though never of it—came one Alexander S. Taylor—predestined to become the first bibliographer of California.

Gold had not drawn him to California, for all through his life the accumulation of wealth was farthest from his ambitions and the least of his desires. In 1848 he arrived from China, where in all probability the news of the discovery could have been but little known, if indeed it had reached there.

Among the many individuals who in those earliest days came to California and later became more or less prominent, there are few of whose early history less is known than that of Taylor. He was born in Charleston, South Carolina, April 16, 1817. His father, A. S. Taylor, was a naval officer of some distinction in the War of 1812, and his mother was Mary Chapman, a native of Wapping parish, London. Taylor received his education at Charleston, where he lived until 1837. In a letter which contains one of his very few personal biographical notes he says:

"I left my native city of Charleston in 1837 (only returning for a few days in 1839), when in my twenty-first year, and since that time have wandered over the West Indies, England, India, the Red Sea, China, Singapore, and Ceylon."

He came to California from Hongkong in the brig *Pacific*, landing at Monterey, September 8, 1848. Whether he ever visited the gold diggings is not known. He himself stated that he had made and lost several fortunes, but it is certain that none of them was made in California. From 1849 until 1860, he resided in Monterey, where for a few years he was clerk of the United States District Court. In 1860, he removed to Santa Barbara where he lived until the close of his life. Here he married the third daughter of Daniel Hill, an early and prominent

American settler whose wife was Rafaela Olivera de Ortega. Hill had received a grant of a large and fertile section of land long known as "Hill's Ranch," and after the decree for secularization he was for a time the lessee of the Santa Barbara mission. Taylor was married in 1860 at this mission, and "La Patera," a part of "Hill's Ranch," was his wife's portion.

In the archives at Santa Barbara mission there is an affidavit made by Taylor at the time of his marriage in which he agreed never to interfere with the religious belief of his wife or of the children who might come to them. His wife's fortune had been much less than his expectations and they lived in a somewhat primitive manner. In 1874, the historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, visited him and has left a graphic description of that interview and the impressions that he derived therefrom. The conversation was at once turned to books and history. All of the printed works mentioned by Taylor were in the library of Bancroft, together with hundreds of others of which poor Taylor had never heard. His perplexity gradually became a pathetic amazement, and the interview finally became painful. In response to a question concerning the existence of Spanish documents relating to Californian history, Taylor opened a box of papers in which he declared that all of the existing sources of history had been gathered. The box contained a great mass of his own writings—a couple of printed pamphlets; newspaper scraps which he had annotated; transcripts of Spanish documents; and sundry translations, many of which were imperfect and faulty. And yet so strongly was he obsessed in his belief that he emphatically affirmed that to search further for material would be a hopeless and useless undertaking.

In his peculiar way, Alexander S. Taylor was a collector of historical material, and in this perhaps, we are most greatly indebted to him.

While in Monterey he had acquired a large collection of Spanish documents relating to the history of California from 1770-1846, among which are some forty or fifty letters written by Padre Junípero Serra. There were 6000 documents in this collection, 800 of which were before 1800, and 4500 before 1840. The collection was offered by Taylor to Congress. In his memorial dated March 30, 1854, he stated that he required no remuneration. All that he petitioned was that Congress permit the publication of them under his supervision. They were "Documents and papers of public character consisting of letters from the authorities, religious, civil and military; Viceroyalty and republic of Mexico; proclamations from governors; letters and reports of priests, establishment of missions; Indians; Pious Fund; and lands, public and private." Congresses before and since have been supremely indifferent, and the Congress of 1854 evidently believed that consistency is a jewel. On May 17, 1854, the memorial was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and ordered to be printed. Like the memory of that Congress, both have long slumbered in peaceful oblivion. After vainly waiting for three years Taylor presented the collection to the Archbishop of the Catholic church of California and in the diocesan residence in San Francisco they are yet extant—a priceless collection.

Another collection of great historical value was a gathering of about 400 specimen newspapers printed in California from 1846-1854. As many of these were short-lived some of them would now be unique. With these also, were several proclamations printed on the Monterey Spanish press between 1834 and 1844. This collection he presented to the Mercantile library of San Francisco, which with its entire superb collection was forever lost in the fire of 1906. His personal library, a small collection, was sold by him to the University of California about 1871 or 1872.

With his natural tastes and ambitions, it was inevitable that Taylor should gravitate to writing. His field was broad and it included history, biography, bibliography, ethnology and natural history. His earliest published writing was "California: Past, Present, and Future. A Sketch—A Retrospect" which appeared in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, in August, 1851. It is a well-written article as may be noted by the paragraph which has been quoted as the prologue of this present essay. Therein, Taylor has given an admirable and accurate survey of the condition of California as it was when he first saw it in 1848. Were the remainder of his essay so sound it had been well. As it is, it is a most singular mixture of inspiring optimism and depressing pessimism. He seems to have been enshrouded in a strange mysticism which tintured more or less deeply all of his work. His was a vivid imagination which was happiest when unleashed. Consequently many of his hypotheses were absurd and sundry of his deductions were fantastic or grotesque. These mental divagations are exhibited especially in his historical studies. In his observations upon natural history he was more fortunate, for in these he maintained his equilibrium by addressing more closely his subject-matter. He had apparently some familiarity with languages, but in the employment of them he formulated his own rules. The title of an otherwise reputable work is "Precis India Californicus." Individually these words are correct but collectively they are not entirely compatible.

His systematic writing began in 1853 and was continued for fifteen years. In that year there appeared in the *San Francisco Herald*, "Discovery of California and Northwest America. The first voyage to the coasts of California; made in the years 1542 and 1543, by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and his pilot Bartolome Ferrelo." This was chiefly a translation from Navarette, but somewhat impaired by the fanciful deductions of the translator. The dedication in this work is of peculiar interest:

To the Hon. William M. Gwin,
Senator from California.
My dear Doctor :

Some three years ago you encouraged me, by holding out a friendly hand, to devote myself to the investigation of the curious old history of California. I have done so as much as possible. I dedicate to you therefore—as the man who first tapped me on the back—this little effort to establish the fame of the Columbus of California, the first hero in the annals of our Commonwealth. . . .

Your friend,

ALEX. S. TAYLOR.

San Francisco, May 23, 1853.

A number of Taylor's articles appeared in *Hutchings' California Magazine*. These were about a dozen in number, chiefly biographical and historical. One, "The Great Condor of California," was a careful study in natural history, and is yet of considerable value. In 1855, Taylor most fortunately formed a lasting acquaintance with the editor of the weekly *California Farmer*. The editor and proprietor, Colonel James Lloyd La Fayette Warren was an individual who believed strongly in progress and action. He was a man of culture, affability and generosity, and a typical Pioneer of California, and for a decade almost everything written by Taylor appeared in the files of the *Farmer*. "The Grasshoppers and Locusts of California" which ran through fifteen numbers of that journal was of sufficient worth after revision, to be accepted and published in the "Smithsonian Report," 1859.

The "Indianology of California" was printed in about one hundred and forty numbers of the *Farmer*, 1860 to 1863. The original MSS were obtained in 1892 from Colonel Warren by the present writer who owned them for five years. In June, 1897, they passed into the possession of the University of California and are now extant. They awaken curiosity and compel feelings akin to awe. Approximately they are 1100 pages written on paper of many sizes, shapes and hues. Scraps, backs of discarded envelopes, newspaper clippings, excerpts from magazines, with countless annotations and original MSS, they were arranged and classified under a system devised and known only by Taylor himself. Notwithstanding its pretentious purpose and voluminous extent, it has seldom been cited by later ethnologists. It remains entombed in the forgotten files of the *Farmer*, from which it has never been reprinted.

Of his numerous writings the best perhaps are "Historical Summary of Lower California, 1532-1867"; and "Bibliography of Alaska, 1600-1867," both of which appeared in J. Ross Browne's *Resources of the Pacific States*, San Francisco and New York, 1869. The superiority of these works is doubtless due to the fact that he was somewhat restrained by able and experienced counsel. His weirdest essay is entitled: "Sketches connected with California History: Prologue," San Francisco, 1855. No historian has yet been able to sound its depths. It were well that the history never followed, for a dark-lantern with its flame extinguished could reflect no greater light.

The most ambitious work and the one of which Taylor was most proud, he styled: "Bibliografia Californica: or notes and materials to aid in forming a more perfect bibliography of those countries anciently called 'California', and lying within the limits of the Gulf of Cortez to the Arctic seas, and west of the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean." It appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 25, 1863, with a supplement printed in the same journal, March 13, 1866. His plan was fully set forth in his foreword:

In default of a proper Bibliography of California, the following Biblioteca is offered to the public as the most extended published on the subject, to the year 1863. It is difficult to compile such a work without falling into mistakes, as it takes long years even in Berlin, London or Paris for the best bibliopoles to make an approximately correct Biblioteca on any country or any subject. Our notes will be found to contain about twenty times more material than those of former California Bibliographies. And as such we flatter ourselves it will be of use to the

public and assist to form a more thorough one in the future. The former catalogues are full of errors of types, dates and of important omissions, and are of very little use. It was not possible, situated as we were, to obtain precisely the number, size and pages of volumes of works, which can only be done, however, in such places as London or Paris, and at great cost of years and money.

The term "Bibliografa" was a spurious coinage devised by Taylor himself, for it has no apparent existence in any known language. It was productive of considerable hostile criticism of which Taylor was actively aware. In the preface to his supplement of 1866 he replied to his critics with definite emphasis:

Our term "Bibliografa" has been much criticised by those who are learned in the study of Bibliography, and to the judgment of such counsel we respectfully bow. But in these days of diffuse titles and publications it was necessary to choose between those long hard words, as "Bibliography," "Bibliographico," "Bibliotheca," "Bibliographie," "Bibliothèque," "Biblioteca," "Bibliotakka," etc., etc., we adopted the softer Italian, "Bibliografia," dropping the final *i*, and falling to "Bibliografa," as more convenient to Californians, and saving time in writing and speaking—in fine, a word easy in common use. As the evil is done, the College of Bibliopoles and the compiler are left as much without remedy as those California birds we read of with seven Latin titles attached to their memories.

We should be grateful to the heroic and intrepid bibliophile, for his harmless word was conceived in simple faith and good will. Far less does it wrench the souls of bibliographers and barbarians than does that more modern counterfeited and misbegotten abortion—"Prohi."

In its original manuscript form this work consisted numerically of about one thousand titles that the tireless author had managed to assemble. They had been bound and presented by their compiler to the Mercantile Library of San Francisco, with which, in 1906, they were unhappily destroyed. In general form and appearance this work closely resembled the original MSS of the "Indianology." The printers of that day command respect and invite admiration. They were infinitely more patient and less exacting than the craftsmen of today. How they ever made use of that unique copy is beyond our powers of divination.

The "Bibliografa" is a most singular and curious document. In its voluminous resources there are a few titles that never had any existence and certain others are so confused and distorted that they have never been identified. In some instances he translated titles into English without mention of the original languages in which they were printed. Occasionally, ignoring the title entirely, he constructed one of his own, which he based upon the contents of the work, real or supposititious. This doubtless was for the edification of less erudite investigators. Into others, some of which he had seen, he wrote contents that had no existence except in his own feverish imagination. Nothing perhaps exhibits more closely his zealous and far-reaching research than the following:

Historia Compendio de las islas Phillipenas . . . In one or more large folio volumes: parchment. Printed at Mexico, Manila or Madrid, between 1712 and 1722. . . . The title is torn out in the copy under our notice, and it may be the same as Friar Gaspar's Successors Phillipenas of 1698 of our Bibliografa.

One of his titles has been the despair of modern bibliographers:

Aubry, F. X. Captain. Notes on a Route from near the Tejon Pass, through Western New Mexico and the Colorado to Santa Fe, in the Fall of 1853. Pamphlet of some 12 pages. Published by Congress in 1854.

This precious pamphlet must have been seen in rapt belief and through the vision of abiding faith, for no bibliographer has ever since been permitted to behold it.

He labored amidst distractions and unusual difficulties as he has justifiably observed. But the laws of system and order had but slight place in his scheme of work. His plan certainly included a vertebra, but most of the articulations were faulty and incoherent. In enumerating the pages of many volumes it would almost appear that his estimates had been formed by the simple process of "hefting," and this not infrequently with the book directly before him. Much of his work was done in the Mercantile Library in San Francisco where there was a set of Stevens' *Historical Nuggets*. It was, and yet is an admirable form of concise bibliography, but Taylor never used it. It is also of significance that in 1866, the library of Hubert Howe Bancroft (also in San Francisco) contained more than 10,000 volumes, but this fact was never known by the author of the "Bibliografa."

In 1867, he prepared a new and revised edition. This was offered to Anton Roman for publication by subscription. An elaborate prospectus was printed but the work never appeared. It contained 949 items with extensive notes. After his futile endeavor to find a publisher, Taylor deposited it in the library of the Society of California Pioneers, which in 1906 was lost in that sweeping disaster.

Poor, unhappy and misguided bibliophile! Although for twenty-five years he had labored tirelessly and incessantly, but little of his work ever assumed permanent form. Some of it was still-born, and more of it by his singular plans and methods suffered self-defeat. He deplored the apathy of the public and the indifference of the publishers, but he never realized that neither editor nor publisher, however conscientious, could have undertaken such work without inviting disaster.

In recognition of his historical researches he was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1864; and for his interest in scientific discovery, he was made an honorary member of the California Academy of Sciences. His last five years were passed in the seclusion of "La Patera," and here his life closed July 27, 1876.

Despite its unequal results and its want of success, in the life and labors of Alexander S. Taylor there is much to commend. In the wildest excitement of 1849, he turned aside from that maddened army of gold-hunters to devote himself to the unprofitable study of history. Far removed from the centers of culture and learning, he had to grope blindly for his sources of information, much of which was necessarily imperfect and inaccurate. He lived obscurely and in poverty, and his personal characteristics did not attract the few scholars who might have been his friends. His ambition was unbounded and his ideals were high, and he never wavered in his endeavor to attain the one and to maintain the other. Like other and greater men he was perhaps too big for the company in which he was obliged to live. He suffered in his limitations, but he gave freely the best that was in him. In the last analysis his was a truly noble and well-spent life. No man, however exalted or humble, ever received finer tribute than that which Hubert Howe Bancroft has rendered to Alexander S. Taylor:

"It were well to judge a man not alone by what he has accomplished, but also by what he has conscientiously tried to perform."

Of the man himself we know but little, but in his delineation of the future bibliographer of California, it must be that unconsciously he portrayed much of his own character. Several bibliographers have followed him, but none has yet inherited generously the endowment of Alexander S. Taylor, which was the valedictory of his famed "Bibliografa Californica":

FINIS

It would seem from the results of these Bibliographical notes, that the future historian of the country will have no short life's labor to digest his material and place it before the world in a pleasant shape to instruct his fellow man. He, too, must be a sad, serious man; kind, not dogmatic; candid, not your fierce mouthy radical or high arrogant abstractionist; cosmopolitan, but always Californian; catholic but rigidly honest—some Washington of literature, some good man sincere in the love of Jesus Christ. He must traverse the rounds of the earth—east and west, north and south—and purge home follies from his heart and return to the mother earth which gave him birth, refreshed with experience of the past.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.



CONFLUENCE of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, with the town of Pittsburgh (the "New York of the Pacific" of 1849) in the foreground, Antioch in the right center, and the Sierra Nevada along the horizon. The channel on which "New York of the Pacific" fronted still retains the name "New York Slough". Photograph by Capt. A. W. Stevens, U. S. Army, courtesy of the U. S. Army Air Corps.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK OF THE PACIFIC

IN California the latter part of 1848 and 1849 provided an uprising of cities from the wilderness with such rapidity as the world has rarely seen. To the enterprising Argonauts, who had to be men of vision and determination to be Argonauts at all, nothing was too unusual or unexpected to happen in this vast wilderness, now being so rapidly reclaimed by the gold-seekers and those who provided them with sustenance and supplies. They saw, with not even astonished eyes, San Francisco arise from practically nothing, and Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, and Shasta from nowhere. If these, why not a host of others? Thus they reasoned and so they acted. And consequently, a legion of other "cities" were at once inaugurated, destined to fade like flowers, the very site of their quondam existence in many instances without a habitation now to mark the spot. For the pioneers from afar had not reasoned that certain cities were inevitable; San Francisco as the great seaport and commercial center, and Stockton, Sacramento and Marysville as base towns to supply their respective divisions of the great gold belt, while Shasta was the base for the far-flung northern mines. In their active minds, there was room and reason for many another city in this astounding region; and consequently they planned and started them, lining the waterways wherever their fancy and apparently suitable location presented itself. And as a result there were many examples initiated. Among others, the long list included Plumas, Eliza, Oro City, Hamilton, Vernon, Fremont, Montezuma, Nicolaus, Tuolumne City, Double Springs (in Calaveras County), Goat Island in San Francisco harbor, and last but not least, the City of New York of the Pacific, the subject of this article. For none started with greater pretensions or with as great claim for glory, even in its very name.

Colonel J. D. Stevenson was the leader of the celebrated regiment of New York Volunteers that came around the Horn in 1847 to guard the conquered province of Alta California and protect it from invasion. W. C. Parker was the doctor accompanying him. They had seen the somewhat sleepy province awakened into bewildering glory by the discovery of gold. They had seen and were seeing an empire arising from the wilderness. And none more fitted than they to provide another "city" to march with the advancing great and form an immortal monument as well as a profitable speculation. Consequently they bought Los Medanos grant of ten thousand acres from José Antonio Mesa and José Miguel Mesa. But theirs must be no ordinary city. It must be the greatest of the great; the western rival of the metropolis of the east. Consequently the City of New York of the Pacific was inaugurated, and nothing less than the full name was used. The City of New York of the Pacific was sixty-five miles from San Francisco on the bayshore just where the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers enter Suisun Bay, the dividing point between the two rivers disappearing as they practically join with the bay. It was really the junction of all three. It had deep water at its front on the bay and the land rose gently, sloping back to the Contra Costa hills.

And now as to its merits and advantages it would be best to fall back upon the advertised announcement which appeared in the *Alta California* on May 17, 1849:

TO THE PUBLIC

The City of New York, of the Pacific, situated at the head of ship navigation upon the bay of Suisun at its junction with the rivers Sacramento and San Joaquin, has been most accurately surveyed by Captain R. P. Hammond U. S. A. and laid out in the most beautiful and convenient manner, and maps have been prepared by E. H. Row, Esq., Engineer and land surveyor, pointing out clearly each and every lot within the surveyed limits of the city, and the proprietors now offer them for sale to the public. Along the entire water front of the city a public street is laid out one hundred and fifty feet in width, beyond which no ground will ever be sold, and the proprietors therefore guarantee to the purchasers of all lots fronting on Water street that no building shall ever be erected between their purchase and the water. There is no point along the entire water front of the city at which vessels of the largest class cannot lay within 30 feet of the bank of the river, and there are but few points where a large class of vessels cannot come immediately to the bank and discharge their cargoes, and at all points where this cannot be done wharves will be built by the proprietors as soon as materials for building can be procured. The centre street of the city running North and South is one hundred feet in width, and all the other streets seventy-five feet, the lots are fifty feet front, by one hundred deep, and there is not a lot within the survey unfit for building purposes.

There are three public squares laid out within the survey, which will be given to the city, and the proceeds of the sales of all the lots fronting on the squares will be appropriated to the erection of public buildings. The titles to this property are perfect and complete in every particular.

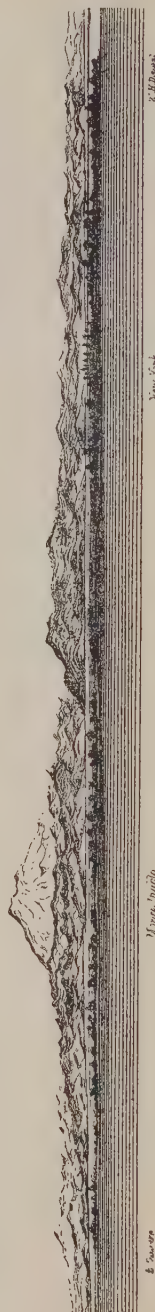
There will be established immediately at the city a record office in charge of a competent official person authorised to take acknowledgments and record deeds, and where the original title deed to this property will be recorded, and where it is desirable that all deeds for lots purchased should also be immediately recorded.

The purchasers will be required to make improvements within a specified time.

The advantages of the location of this city over any other above San Francisco, are too well known to all who have either passed up the rivers Sacramento or San Joaquin to require any comment from the proprietors; but to all persons who have not had the opportunity to examine the site, we say that there is not in all California a point combining so many advantages for business purposes, with the advantages of a fine healthy climate, dry soil, free from inundation at every point, throughout the year, a superior harbor for vessels of the largest class, and an abundant supply of pure water at all seasons. To these advantages, we will add that permanent arrangements have been made for two steamers, to commence running in all the month of August daily from San Francisco to the new city; and also two steamers of very light draught of water with tow boats prepared to navigate the Sacramento and San Joaquin, and their tributaries, from New York, below which they will not come. For lots or any information connected with the city of New York of the Pacific, apply at the office of the proprietors in San Francisco, and from and after the 1st day of June, at the city of New York.

W. C. Parker
Saml. Norris

J. D. Stevenson
G. McDougal, Proprietors.



"View of Monte Diablo from Garnet Island" from Cadwalader Ringgold's SERIES OF CHARTS, WITH SAILING DIRECTIONS, 1851, showing New York of the Pacific.

But any new city with great aspirations should be well surveyed and laid out. Consequently Lieutenant William H. Sherman, and Major R. P. Hammond, the father of John Hays Hammond, who also surveyed Stockton and Tuolumne City, were secured to survey and plan its dimensions, streets and public places. Sherman tells the story thus:

As there was very little to do, General Smith encouraged us to go into any business that would enable us to make money. R. P. Hammond, James Blair, and I, made a contract to survey for Colonel J. D. Stevenson his newly-projected city of "New York of the Pacific," situated at the mouth of the San Joaquin River. The contract embraced also, the making of soundings and the marking out of a channel through Suisun Bay. We hired, in San Francisco, a small metallic boat, with a sail, laid in some stores, and proceeded to the United States ship *Ohio*, anchored at Saucilito, where we borrowed a sailor-boy and head-lines with which to sound the channel. We sailed up to Benecia and, at General Smith's request, we surveyed and marked the line dividing the city of Benecia from the government reserve. We then sounded the bay back and forth, and staked out the best channel up Suisun Bay, from which Blair made out sailing directions. We then made the preliminary surveys of the city of "New York of the Pacific," all of which were duly plotted; and for this work we each received from Stevenson five hundred dollars and ten or fifteen lots. I sold enough lots to make up another five hundred dollars, and let the balance go; for the city of "New York of the Pacific" never came to anything. Indeed, cities at the time were being projected by speculators all round the bay and all over the country. [*Memoirs*, Vol. 1, pp. 73-74.]

And so the city was planned. But Colonel Stevenson at San Francisco was not idle. Recruits, or rather settlers, must be obtained, and he made it a practice of visiting the incoming ships and securing families for his new city.

Let us now pass to the contemporary chroniclers, for from them we can best learn of the views and estimates of the infant city at the period of its birth. E. Gould Buffum, himself a member of Stevenson's regiment, remarked:

At the junction of the river San Joaquin and the bay of Suisun, lies New York of the Pacific. The town is seated on a broad and well-watered plain, covered with many groves of magnificent oaks, extending from the waters of the bay and the river San Joaquin to the hills some three miles back. . . . New York is beautifully laid out, with large reserves for churches, a university, and other public edifices, and is perhaps one of the most healthy points in the country, being free from fever and ague and the prevailing fevers usual on fresh-water rivers below and between the mining region and San Francisco. But the great advantage which New York of the Pacific possesses over other places above San Francisco is, that it is at the head of ship navigation, as two regular surveys, published by distinguished military and naval officers of Suisun Bay have demonstrated. Ships of the largest class can sail direct from the ocean to New York, where they will find a safe and convenient harbour, and where at this time are lying a number of merchant ships from different parts of the Union, directly alongside the bank upon which they have discharged their cargoes.

New York is surrounded on all sides by the most fertile agricultural districts of Northern California. The Sacramento, San Joaquin, and San Jose valleys being tributary to this point which is as the center of so many radii, while the entire land travel from San Jose and the Contra Costa, and indeed of all southern California, flows through this channel. The whole transportation to the rich placers of the Stanislaus, Mokelumne, Tuolumne, Merced, and Mariposa, as well as the famous mines of the Middle, North, and South Forks, Feather and Yuba rivers, must pass the new city. The great railroad, destined to connect the Pacific Ocean and the Mississippi River, will undoubtedly terminate at New York, as it is in a direct line with the only pass in the mountains through which a railroad can reach the waters which empty into the Bay of San Francisco. This is a fact well established by the most distinguished engineers. Through the enterprise of Col. J. D. Stevenson and Dr. William C. Parker, both of the New York regiment of volunteers, the first survey of the bay of Suisun and the adjacent waters was made. These gentlemen are the principal owners of New York. [*Six Months in the Gold Mines*, Philadelphia, 1850, pp. 150-51.]

Not all observers of the period were as complimentary as Buffum. Bayard Taylor, who reasoned soundly and well in the midst of all the unsettling excitement, remarked:

... New York-of-the-Pacific ... consists of three houses, one of which is a three-story one, and several vessels at anchor near the shore. The anchorage is good, and were it not for the mosquitos, the crews might live pleasantly enough, in their seclusion. There never will be a large town there, for the simple reason that there is no possible reason why there *should* be one. Stockton and Sacramento City supply the mines, San Francisco takes the commerce, Benicia the agricultural produce, with a fair share of inland trade, and this Gotham-of-the-West, I fear, must continue to belie its title. [*El Dorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire*, New York, 1850, Vol. 1, p. 217. See also Vol. II, p. 48.]

And Dr. James L. Tyson, who passed the spot shortly after the town was "laid out," was a bit ironical. Said he:

By the middle of the afternoon we came opposite to a tract of land, barren and desolate enough to look upon, rising in swells like the waves of the ocean, with Mount Diablo towering far above it, but without a house or tent visible, known to fame as "New-York of the Pacific." It is situated near the mouth of the San Joaquin, which waters the southern country, and nearly opposite one of the mouths of the Sacramento, and is intended for a city, lots being now sold on paper at high rates to the miners, many of whom having more gold than they had heretofore been accustomed to, are often anxious to make a safe investment of a few hundred dollars in real estate. Here the opportunity is presented, the happy purchaser doubtless congratulating himself on the fortunate turn of events, that had enabled him to dig gold from the earth and invest it in permanent town-lots, where it can not be lost. [*Diary of a Physician in California*, N.Y., 1850, p. 54.]¹

Hulaniski, historian of Contra Costa County, paints a picture of the good Colonel Stevenson (taken from Stephen Massett's *Drifting About*), which is worthy of perpetuation:

"You are just the young man for me," said the Colonel.

"You, of course, understand drawing deeds, mortgages, etc., etc.; in fact, the general routine of a lawyer's office. You have been in a good school and I think we can get along very well together. I have just purchased a tract of land—I am going to build a new city—a second New York, sir! I'll make you Alcalde, sir! Notary Public, sir! Mayor of the city, sir! Come and breakfast with me tomorrow morning."

"At what time, Colonel?" asked Massett.

"At six o'clock, sir. Always rise with the lark," replied the Colonel. "There is nothing like getting up early, sir—business man, sir! Go to bed early—keep steady—don't drink, and your fortune is made in no time!"

The next day, bright and early, Massett went to his office. The walls were adorned with maps, most gorgeously gotten up. On the outside, the people were informed that that was J. D. Stevenson's Land Office and Agency of lots in New York of the Pacific.

But the history of the town was a brief one. On July 6, 1849, there arrived at San Francisco two brothers and their families, on the brig *Forest*, who were sought out by Colonel Stevenson and Doctor Parker. They contracted to proceed to the proposed city and commence building. They arrived at New York of the Pacific on July 11, 1849, on the schooner *Rialto*. The initial building in the city, a structure eighteen by forty feet, was erected for the accommodation of their families, and according to the contract was to be occupied by them "rent free" for the first three months. Possession was taken about August 1, 1849, and twenty feet more was later added to the south end, while a tent thirty by fifty feet was

1. See also Colton, Walter, *Three Years in California*, N.Y., 1850, p. 417; statement of J. S. Boynton, MS in Bancroft Library, p. 1; and *California Courier*, San Francisco, Nov. 2. 1850.

also tacked on, the whole edifice receiving the name of "New York House." Later, W. W. Smith added an oven of magnificent proportions, for an entire beef could be placed on its tiles at night and next morning brought out, "cooked to a turn." This was the first house built in the township, although prior to this time José Antonio Mesa had erected a camping shelter with a tule roof about one-half mile west of what is now Pittsburg Landing, and there was a deserted cabin in the hills, with a patch of tobacco, immediately below the spring which now supplies the town of Nortonville with water.

Let us for a moment glance at the operation of the New York House and its proprietor. Mr. Smith, beside receiving as much as \$14.00 per day wages at his trade of carpenter, during the evening frequently fried \$50.00 worth of doughnuts, bread, etc., the latter being worth \$1.00 per loaf, the oven having a capacity of twenty-two loaves. During the rainy season the men who were employed in plying on boats on the river paid a dollar apiece for the privilege of sleeping on the floor of the New York House in their own blankets; while in respect to table commodities the articles usually provided were bread and fresh beef, to which Mr. Smith occasionally added butter and fruit, the former being procured from ships at the price of \$100.00 per keg of 100 pounds, and the latter from San Francisco. The New York House was the first building erected between Salvio Pacheco's, at what is now the village of Concord, and Doctor Marsh's residence on Marsh Creek. The next house to go up was that of John Beener, agent for Messrs. Stevenson and Parker, who was also the first postmaster (Junction Post Office it was called) and justice of the peace under the new State Constitution. The third house was one erected for Doctor Fourgeaud of San Francisco, in which Henry F. Toye opened a saloon. Mr. Toye, it is said, lived with an Indian squaw, by whom he had a child, but finding these encumbrances too much, he exchanged the boy for a horse and the woman for a Newfoundland dog.

These were the early houses erected in New York of the Pacific. Mr. Smith removed in December, 1849, to a farm situated near the site of the present city of Antioch, and leased the "New York House" to his sister-in-law, Sarah B., widow of his brother, Rev. Joseph H. Smith, who died in February, 1850. It was subsequently leased to Zachariah Shafer, who shortly afterward failed in business and departed. The building remained unoccupied for some time, but was finally removed to Smith's Point, a strip of land jutting into the river above Antioch, where it stood for many years, a monument to the first endeavors of these pioneer families.

Late in 1849, New York of the Pacific was designated as Precinct No. 19 of the San José District for the election to ratify the State Constitution. H. F. Toy [sic] was made inspector, and John S. Beener and William H. Dupee judges of the election, which was held on November 19 and resulted in 112 votes for and but two against the Constitution. Wm. W. Smith signed the returns as "Alcaalda" and Thos. P. Ripley as Clerk of the City of New York. Oaks R. House was elected "Second Alcaalda."²

2. Bancroft Library, Pio Pico documents.

In the spring of 1850, Howard Nichols, later a resident of Clayton, arrived in New York of the Pacific, finding it a thriving place with several houses of entertainment, the "New York House" being prosperous and kept on strict temperance principles. Shortly thereafter, Nichols purchased the ship *Mount Vernon* and turned it into a receiving barge, alongside which the steamers took on board and discharged freight and passengers. He then bought the contents of the "Kennebec House," a hostelry which had succumbed to fate, and, fitting up the "Mount Vernon" as a boarding house, received a large number of customers.

The first election under the new Constitution found New York of the Pacific flourishing, with between 500 and 600 voters on shore and shipboard. But Alcalde Smith, who had expended some \$2000 in time, money and medicines without reimbursement, found the position more honorary than remunerative. His office was at first at his home, but was later removed to the Pratt House, in which the owner had resided until murdered.³

At the outset the sailing vessels which plied the bay and rivers in great numbers called at New York of the Pacific to take on fresh provisions and to transact such business as offered. But as early as 1850 the steamers were invading these inland waterways, and because of their rapid transit to the more logically placed outfitting points (Stockton, Sacramento, Marysville), they found themselves under no necessity of halting at this "half way house." Already the embryonic "city's" doom was sealed.

But in 1849 it seemed destined for great things. Lieutenant Hollingsworth's well-known "Sketch of General Riley's Route through the Mining Regions, July and August 1849" (published in 31st Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document No. 17, Washington, D. C., 1850), gives it equal prominence with Stockton as of the date of his party's passing, August 2.⁴ Indeed, before the spring of 1850 came around, Colonel Stevenson did the thing that all promoters sooner or later do. He asked that the State Capital be established at his budding town. In his petition, dated December 17, 1849, he offered a Capitol building, to cost not more than \$100,000, to be completed on one of the "Public Squares" before January 1, 1851. On January 7, 1850, he amended his offer, and promised the building by May 1, 1850. By this time there was considerable competition for the honor, and San José was bidding up on Colonel Stevenson; the honors, however, went in the end to General Vallejo, who offered \$370,000 in cash, land and improvements at his budding town of Vallejo.

However, the City of New York of the Pacific was not to be outdone too easily, and on May 15, 1850, Messrs. Stevenson and Parker made another proposal, as follows:

3. In addition to the early settlers above mentioned, there was a Mr. Lord who was supercargo of the bark *Oscar* of Bangor, Maine, he being also agent for the ship *Orderly Clerk*. On the first named vessel the steamer *Governor Dana* was brought out in sections, lengthened and rebuilt at New York of the Pacific. Another prominent gentleman was H. H. Hartley, who was the first practicing lawyer in the district.

At the period above stated, Mr. Hartley was secretary of the company to which the ship belonged that Mr. Lord was agent for, while a Mr. Bodfish was agent for the Kennebec Company. A brother of Mr. Bodfish was proprietor of one of the leading hotels in the town, while one of them had his wife and sister with him. These men owned a small steamer and several small sailing craft on the Upper Sacramento; and when the necessity for transportation upon the

San Francisco May 15th, 1850

Sir

The undersigned beg leave to submit the following proposition for the location of the Capitol of the State at New York of the Pacific.

They will give to the State in fee One hundred & fifty acres of land to be occupied as sites for the Public buildings; and One hundred City Lots also in fee to dispose of as most deemed proper.

And One hundred and fifty thousand Dollars in money to be paid in monthly payments of Ten thousand Dollars per month the payment to Commence within Sixty days after the passage of the act Locating the Capitol, and approved Security will be given by the undersigned for the faithful performance of their part of the contract.

The late convention decided that the districts of Sacramento and San Joaquin contained three fifths of the inhabitants of the State, and were consequently entitled to at least one half of the entire representation in the Legislature; and it is but fair to infer that from the peculiar location of the Country composing these districts; that this preponderance will rather increase than diminish. If this be so then is "New York of the Pacific" better situated and more accessible than any other point that can be selected, as its peculiar situation at the head of the Bay of Suisun at the junction of the two great rivers Sacramento and San Joaquin renders it accessible almost hourly to all who pass to and from the extensive mineral regions.

With the districts of San Francisco and the Gold regions it is connected by lines of Steamers and being in the district of Contra Costa late San Jose and but a few hours ride by land from that place it must be less objectionable to the citizens of that district than any other site, should the Legislature deem it proper to remove the Capitol from its present location. From Monterey and the whole Country south of that point the site to which we invite your attention is of easy access by water and from Sonoma it is only separated by the bay.

The undersigned believe that its location for climate, health and convenience renders it the most desirable situation in all California for a point so important as is the Capitol of our State.

Your obt Servants

To His Excellency

Peter H Burnett

Governor of California

J. D. Stevenson

Wm. C. Parker

It is not generally known that the City of New York of the Pacific ever attained the dignity of a post office; but it is a fact that for a short time it was a post office, although curiously enough the name thereof was "Junction, Contra Costa County, Cal." Until recently no letter posted there was known to have been preserved; however, the writer recently secured the only known existing covering envelope mailed at New York of the Pacific. And singularly the contents proved that the town also possessed a notary public. It was addressed as follows:

Junction ————— New York, Cal. 12½ [cts.]

Nov. 11 [1850]

To the Hon' Wm. Van Voorhies

Secretary of State

Pueblo de San Jose

Cal.

inland waters became an absolute fact and beyond a matter of conjecture, they transferred their domiciles to Red Bluff, Tehama County.

Also the little steamer *Lawrence* of sixty-five tons, which had been brought around on the ship *May Flower*, was set up again at New York of the Pacific. ("Reminiscences," of George Holton Beach in *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, Dec., 1932, p. 239.)

J. C. Mc Masters was one of the very early residents of the district. He came to California in 1849 on the same vessel as did the Smiths, and after passing some time at the mines and at Stockton, came to New York of the Pacific and commenced work on the buildings then rising there. Later, in partnership with William Dupee, he purchased the sloop *Flying Cloud*, fitted her up and placed her on the lines between San Francisco, Stockton and Sacramento.

4. In the Bancroft Library there is one of the original deeds to lots sold by Colonel Stevenson in the City of New York of the Pacific. It ran to Dr. John S. Griffin, U. S. A., under date of August 13, 1849, the stated consideration being \$125.00. The lot thus sold was lot No. 1, block 133, 50 feet front on C. Street West by 100 feet deep on Tenth Street West. Colonel Stevenson's acknowledgment was attested by Jno. W. Geary, first alcalde, district of San Francisco, the deed being recorded on August 13, 1849, in book B, page 104 of the Record of Land Titles for the City of New York of the Pacific, Upper California, by H. F. H. Toye, Register.

It is curious, though it frequently happened in California, that the name of the post office differed from the name of the town. In this case the post office was "Junction, California," while the name of the town was "The City of New York of the Pacific." The postmaster, to avoid possibility of error, wrote both the post office name and the town's real name when postmarking this cover. Hence we have "Junction——, New York, Cal." This post office did not appear on the list of September 26, 1850, and while it did appear on that of December 31, 1850, it was omitted on that of July 30, 1851. This cover is also interesting because of an endorsement in the handwriting of William Van Voorhies:

Henry F. Toye, Not. Pub.

New York of the Pacific

Acknowledging receipt of Com.

Nov. 7, 1850

The enclosure of this covering envelope was, then, a letter from Henry F. Toye to the Secretary of State, acknowledging receipt of his commission as Notary Public for the City of New York of the Pacific.

But no power could create a city where economic principles at that time required none. It was the age of gold and the preponderance of the mines. The valley was uninhabited and almost valueless, and manufacturing industry was undreamed of. Many more attractive towns, with their rapid rise well warranted, proved attractive and profitable investments. When the sailing vessels were put to flight by the steamers whose far superior advantages drove them almost immediately out of business, the *raison d'être* of the City of New York of the Pacific disappeared over night. The "boom" collapsed immediately; the City was deserted at once. In 1858 a correspondent of the *San Francisco Times* wrote from the new (and neighboring) town of Antioch:

"New York of the Pacific," once so celebrated, is in the immediate vicinity, and the writer makes it the subject of his remarks. In connection with the events spoken of by him, we very well recollect that a company of one hundred and fifty men, who arrived at San Francisco in July, 1849, from Boston, in the *Ship Edward Everett*, were waited upon by Colonel Stevenson, who expended much eloquence in depicting the great advantages of this wonderful place. He was quite sanguine that it would throw San Francisco entirely in the shade, and even rival the great emporium of the East. To induce the company in question to settle there, offers of city lots were freely made and other favors promised. Some of the company took an opportunity to look at its beauties, but were not much impressed thereby. Having occasion to pass by on their way to this city, in some whale boats, they encamped one night in the neighborhood; and they met with mosquitoes in such immense quantities and of such terrible size and ferocity, that it was a miracle they escaped alive in the morning. It is a sober fact that they fought these monsters during the whole night, and were at last obliged to retreat. After this, whenever "New York of the Pacific" was mentioned in their presence, a ghastly smile would overspread their countenances, and they would beg to be excused from hearing its advantages enlarged upon.

This town, notwithstanding its high-sounding name, is a sorry sort of a place. It was laid out early in '49, and several buildings were erected, even at that early day—its projectors claiming that it would very shortly outstrip San Francisco in commercial importance, if it did not rival its great namesake on the Atlantic seaboard. In passing up and down on the launches, you then saw away over the bay, and, as if springing from the tules, two or three canvas-covered structures, to mark the spot of the rising emporium. Should you have happened to be in company with Gov. McDougal, Jonathan D. Stevenson, or other proprietors of the new town, you would have heard much of its advantageous location and magnificent prospects. Town lots were at that day worth many ounces in this now dilapidated, forlorn and desolated New York of the Pacific. "Gone glimmering" are all these glorious promises; gone, too,

through the agency of pillage or removal, the dozen or two houses that once adorned the spot—the number being now so reduced that you can barely speak of them in the plural. To one of the only two inhabited houses in town I was attracted by the word “Restaurant,” in letters considerably larger than the windows, supposing it a place for the recuperation of the physical man. I was politely told, however, on entering, that the sign slightly misrepresented the facts; that the place had been fitted up for a “Restaurant,” but had never been used as such—for this reason, that the *hombres* were not there to be *restored*; which fact becoming manifest, the house had since been the habitation of the now sole lady resident of New York.

From 1851 to 1862 New York of the Pacific disappeared from the maps and was only a name, but in 1862 a renaissance took place. Veins of low-grade lignite coal had been discovered in the hills, about six miles south of the town, and under the leadership of P. B. Cornwall, D. O. Mills and Alvinza Hayward, a company was formed for the mining and shipping of coal in quantity. It was called the “Southport Land and Improvement Company.” Nortonville was the name of the colliery town in the hills where three hundred men and boys were employed. A narrow gauge railroad was constructed with a high embankment, to cross the Southern Pacific track opposite New York of the Pacific, and a wharf and shipping terminal was installed exactly at the old “City” of New York, the place being called New York Landing, after its sleep of over ten years. The post office was called Black Diamond.

But this revival was of short duration and terminated in 1885, when the colliery was no longer profitable on account of the discovery of much better coal in the neighboring northern states. Also, it is stated, on account of a law suit by which the owner of a portion of the grant nearest the hills complained that the mineralized waters from the colliery ruined his land. The writer well remembers in the latter 80's of California the unused track and the bridge crossing the Southern Pacific Railroad on its high embankment.

The sole monuments of this second stage of its existence, if such it may be called, are the substantial old Cornwall mansion, constructed at the embarcadero close to the old wharf, and the remains of the embankment which are still to be seen.

After the abandonment of the coal mine New York of the Pacific once more lapsed into oblivion. But were Colonel Stevenson and Doctor Parker wrong in their promising early city with the aspiring name? In reality they builded better than they knew. Frequently it is said that it is just as bad or worse to be ahead of one's time as to be mistaken in the value of a project; and in this case the whirligig of time has proved such to be the case.

In 1900 Los Medanos Rancho fell into the hands of Mr. C. A. Hooper, who apparently visualized the commercial advantages of its situation that were to reincarnate it from its second sleep into the best and most promising present-day industrial town in California. Keenly awake to the advantages of cheap electric power, a deep-water harbor, from which shipments could be made to all the world, a shorter railroad haul than to San Francisco, and probably a better wage condition, Mr. Hooper secured for the rising city the large plant of the Redwood Manufacturers' Association, which was soon followed by the Columbia Steel plant and the Great Western Electric plant.

The new-born city is called Pittsburg, but it is squarely upon the original site of the City of New York of the Pacific. The two principal business streets are railroad and Black Diamond, and on the corner of Black Diamond and First Streets, the Old New York House was located. "Parson Smith's well," the late Cornwall mansion and the railroad embankment and terminal were between these two streets. And in the upper part of the city the remains of the embankment still exist, like the ruins of the aqueduct through Rome. Many millions of dollars of plant value have been expended, and a thriving industrial town, with department stores and banks, with beautiful cottages and villas, a lovely park and splendid schools, stands upon the site of the metropolis-of-the-West-to-be, planned so many years ago. And with the constant growth of the State and the ever-increasing industrial trend of California, this wisely-selected site, with its acknowledged industrial advantages, can only look forward to ever-increasing prosperity, growth and importance in the years to come.

The City of New York of the Pacific was not a mistake; not an illusion; it was only somewhat over fifty years in advance of its time!

ERNEST A. WILTSEE.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Banks, Duke N.	South Pasadena	Henry R. Wagner
Boden, Charles R.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr.
*Cline, Mrs. W. B.	Beverly Hills	
Green, Miss Floride	San Francisco	Robert E. Cowan
Harcourt, Leonard R.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Huebner, Herbert A.	Forest Hills, N. Y.	Carl I. Wheat
Keating, Miss Stella	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Lea, Miss Jessie A.	Richmond, Calif.	Miss Dorothy Huggins
McDonald, W. E.	Glendale, Calif.	Robert E. Cowan
Mason, William S.	Pasadena	Henry R. Wagner
O'Malley, Charles D.	San Francisco	Douglas S. Watson
Perkins, John I.	Los Angeles	Henry R. Wagner
Rubel, August A.	Piru, Calif.	Henry R. Wagner
Schoonmaker, G. D.	San Francisco	Henry R. Wagner
Sinsheimer, Louis F.	San Luis Obispo	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Slocum, Miles Standish	Pasadena	Henry R. Wagner
Towne, Arthur W.	San Francisco	Carl I. Wheat

*Continuing the membership of her late husband.

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA
1843-1856THE GASQUET DOCUMENTS
(Continued)

XXI

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";
Direction Commerciale; Bureau d'Amérique No. 14; Primata.¹
Received October 10 [12?], 1846. Ministerial notation: "Extract
or whole sent to Commerce, November 7, 1846.")

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, June 15, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I believe it my duty to inform Your Excellency of the discovery of a quicksilver mine [New Almaden] which has been made on the property of the Mission of *Ste. Claire*, about five leagues from the living quarters. Its exploitation has been commenced and the results which it has given, with very imperfect means, have surpassed the most favorable calculations. M. [Andrés] Castellero, captain of artillery in the Mexican army, the same one who was sent on a secret mission to Messieurs Castro and Alvarado, discovered it and made the first assays in company with the Reverend Father [José María] Real who officiates at the Church of *St. Claire*, and Señor Castro, Commandant General. Having left for Mexico the fourth of April last, charged with a mission for the government, he will take advantage of his sojourn in that capital to find a company which may furnish them capital and men. It is very probable that he will encounter many difficulties in this search because of the revolutions which are desolating Mexico, and of the precarious situation of California.

From all that I have heard said of this mine, it is almost certain that the extraction of the ore is very easy and the yield [is] 125 grams of quicksilver. Fuel abounds in the environs and costs only the cutting and the carrying of it to the furnaces. I am convinced that a well-directed exploitation ought to give magnificent and easily realized results because of the nearness of Mexico, which consumes so much quicksilver.

I would with satisfaction see it [the mine] pass into French hands and it is for this reason that I have taken the liberty of informing Your Excellency of it. I think that it would be very easy to buy the mission with the mine and to obtain the privilege of exploiting it. It would be fortunate if a French company could be established for exploiting the mines in particular and commerce in California in general. I believe that great profit will be found therein [and] at the same time

1. Dispatch No. 13, dated Apr. 30, 1846, (Document XX) has been omitted as of no general importance. It is merely a report of the deaths of two Frenchmen, Jean Sajet, a deserter, who was drowned, and Mathurin Lecoq, who had committed suicide.

it would give to the government the opportunity actively to deal with this country whose sympathies [already] turn toward us and would soon be entirely ours.

Your Excellency will make such use of this information as may seem best to you. I have thought to fulfill my duty in giving it to you. I shall have the honor of addressing to you at the first opportunity statistics of the commercial and maritime activity of this port. This work will furnish you with exact data regarding the resources of this country.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET
Acting Consul.

XXII

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";
Direction Commerciale; Bureau d'Amérique, No. 15, Primata.

Received October 10 [12?], 1846. No enclosures found.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, June 17, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency two precious documents which will enable you to appreciate the gravity of the circumstances in the midst of which California is now placed, as well as the antagonism which exists between the two principal authorities and which seriously threatens the peace, already so much compromised, of this unfortunate district. And first, if you permit, Monsieur le Ministre, I will go into some details regarding the causes which have brought about the divisions, so that you may obtain a clear idea of the difficulties of the situation. I shall try not to be too long.

Following the Californians' triumph and when it was necessary to reorganize the government, the *ville des Anges* [Los Angeles] was declared, or rather declared itself, the capital of the Californians, and within its walls were established the Governor's residence and the meeting [place] of the Departmental Assembly. The General Commandancy, the Administration of the Customs, and the treasury, were left at Monterey. This distribution did not completely satisfy either one or the other population. Monterey had always been considered as the capital. The governors from Mexico, nearly all of whom had combined in their persons the political and military authority, had established their residence there. Monterey considered itself despoiled of an important prerogative and was viewing the governor's residence at Los Angeles with a jealous eye. The latter city soon perceived that its title of capital and governor's residence did not give it either authority or real power. It lacked the best item—the finances—of which it received only what Monterey cared to send. Hence several attempts were made to draw the treasury to Los Angeles, unhappy attempts which resulted only in heaping ridicule upon

the governor who ordered it. His orders were ignored or evaded and he had to be satisfied with the part which was accorded him. His projects, if successful, would have amounted to no less than to take the custom house away from Monterey and transfer it to San Diego, and once master of the finances, to overthrow the Commandant General and replace him by his own brother. He was supported and encouraged by his fellow citizens, and also by M. Hajar, the Mexican envoy, who considered the Commandant General as a rebel and Monterey as a hotbed of revolt. Here and in the northern settlements the Governor had partisans, all of whom abandoned him upon these issues, though remaining loyal to him on others of less importance. The Commandant also had some friends in his enemies' camp. Several times they were on the point of coming to blows. My despatches, Monsieur le Ministre, have informed you of these abortive attempts at civil war. I will not repeat.

The causes of the divisions which render the situation of this country so deplorable lie in the rival pretensions and interests of the two principal localities. The dispositions of the governing men are of no effect in the matter; they are only the personification of those pretensions and interests. To remedy such a state of affairs would be very difficult and I doubt very much whether it can be remedied by means of conciliation.

The attempts at *rapprochement* which by my despatch of the twenty-fifth of last March, bearing the number twelve [Document XVII] I related to you as having failed, were again taken up, and the occasion thereof was this:

The American corvette, the *Cyerne* [Cyane], anchored in the bay on the seventeenth of last April and disembarked a Mr. Guilespie [Lieut. Archibald H. Gillespie] who left the following day for the Rio Sacramento to search for Captain Fremont. We learned that the *Saillant* was sent expressly from Mazatlan to the Sandwich Islands with the mission of taking this gentleman on board and transporting him to California. The cutter put back to sea one or two days after its arrival. The coming of this agent [and] his precipitate departure for the banks of the Sacramento gave the inhabitants much to think and talk about. They had not yet recovered from the excitement which the presence of Captain Fremont at the head of seventy armed men had aroused in them.

At this juncture another American corvette, the *Portsmouth*, arrived. It brought the news that the authorities and the troops at Mazatlan had abandoned the city and that a declaration of a blockade by the Americans was expected there. The rumors of war between the United States and Mexico gathered more substance and brought to a peak the trouble and excitement in the minds [of the inhabitants].

They did not want American domination, but at the same time, they saw that they could not avoid it should war break out. Some bolder voices pronounced the word "independence." It was thought, on account of Mexico's absolute incapacity to send help to defend the territory, that it was the right and duty of California to break the ties which held it to the Republic, and that a separation pronounced by the élite of the population, gathered in a general assembly, might have the effect of preventing the American invasion or of calling in the intervention of the Euro-

pean powers if the Americans, in spite of the declaration of independence, should still intend to take the country by conquest. A protectorate was also spoken of. Once these ideas had spread, they wanted to apply them. The Commandant General charged the Collector of Customs with bringing before the Governor and the Departmental Assembly the proposition of going to the Mission of *Saint Louis (évêque)* [San Luis Obispo] where the Commandant and other influential persons of Monterey and of San Francisco would be found—that they might come to an understanding as to the measures to be taken to save the country from the calamities which threaten it. The administrator left, followed by (*suivi de*) his instructions, and hardly had he arrived at Santa Barbara when the disposition of the Commandant suddenly changed. An immoderate letter which he received from the Governor had caused him great irritation and so had brought about this change. He declared himself and had the troops and the authorities of Monterey declare themselves for Paredes' plan and left for Santa Clara at the head of his forces, taking the two cannon which had been used for a long time to return the salutes of warships. The administration arrived at Los Angeles in complete ignorance of what had happened here and went to work. The people of Los Angeles were as aroused upon these questions as those at Monterey. The question of a declaration of independence and of a request for a protectorate had already been discussed there. Fuel was easily added to the flame, and the Departmental Assembly, adopting the conclusions of its commission, passed the decree that I have the honor to enclose with my despatch, as [annex] Number One. On reading the preamble, Your Excellency will very quickly perceive the intentions which dictated it, as well as the spirit of mistrust and bitterness which it evidences against the Commandant. The latter was at Santa Clara when the decree was published, and the Governor was not polite enough to address it to him. He manifested neither approbation nor discontent; he let it be published and did not oppose the elections. He went to the residence of Señor [Sieur?] Ballejo [Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo] former Commandant General, at Sonoma, and it was only upon his return, just as some deputies-elect were about to leave for Santa Barbara, that he published the protest which you will read as [annex] Number Two. It is a violent declaration said to have been written under the influence of a few glasses of brandy. However that may be, it has had its effect. No deputy from the North went to the Santa Barbara meeting so that it cannot have been able to function. In fact, according to the terms of the decree, twelve of the newly elected members must be present to make the acts of the Assembly valid. The total number elected was eighteen; [and] the eight from Monterey, San José, San Francisco, and Sonoma absenting themselves, leaves only ten, supposing that every one delegated from the South attends.¹

There, Monsieur le Ministre, you have the present situation. You can picture to yourself the agitation and the disorder which reign here, as well as the dangers to which such a state of affairs subjects the foreigners who are settled here. More-

1. Eighteen delegates were elected as follows: Four from Los Angeles; four from Santa Barbara; four from Monterey; two from San Diego; two from San José; one from San Francisco and one from Sonoma. (For a narrative of these events see Bancroft, V, Chapter II, *passim*, especially pp. 44 *et seq.*)

over the Americans are very restless. They go everywhere, openly preaching the union of California to the United States. The Consul, M. [Thomas O.] Larkin, particularly distinguishes himself by his zeal in making proselytes. He lavishes promises, and even, it is said, makes offers of money. Nevertheless he has not been successful in his efforts, and up to now his offers and promises have all been in vain.

The English are at work also, with much more moderation and circumspection, it is true, but nevertheless actively. Their Vice-Consul, M. [James Alexander] Forbes, went to Los Angeles. At present he must be at Santa Barbara. He did me the honor of visiting me while passing through Monterey, and although he several times told me that his government had no designs upon California, I took the liberty, *in petto* [in my own heart] not to believe a word of it. The coincidence of his journey to Los Angeles with the meeting of the Assembly and the proceedings of some open partisans of England left no doubts in my mind upon this subject. These two agents, Mr. Larkin and Mr. Forbes, have received instructions from their governments and in case of need their actions could be supported by force. For the past ten days the English corvette, the *Junon*,² has been anchored in Monterey harbor and the *Portsmouth* is at present at San Francisco, whence she will soon return here.

I am very sorry that I have not received a single communication from Your Excellency concerning the situation of this country. However, it seems to me that we have some interests to protect here, even if it be only an interest [sphere] of influence. I must also regret the absence of our flag. Please believe, Monsieur le Ministre, that this is a very unfortunate thing, because it gives wrong ideas of inferiority concerning our naval power which in the present circumstances will force me to appeal, in case of necessity, to a foreign flag for the protection of our nationals.

Very serious events are occurring upon the banks of the Sacramento. The Americans are very numerous there, and in arms. A few days ago, one of their parties took from a Californian officer, after scattering his escort, 180 horses which he was conducting to the general headquarters for the needs of the troops. Today at seven o'clock in the morning, a messenger sent by the Commandant General arrived, bringing us the news of the capture of Sonoma by a party of Americans. Seventy men entered that place, took possession of M. Balleu [Vallejo], former Commandant General, a very rich and influential man, also his brother, his family, and a Frenchman named Prudon, Captain in the Mexican army. They took them away as prisoners after they had left a garrison of twenty-five men at Sonoma.

The Commandant proposes to march against them at the head of the small force at his disposal. He has sent an order to M. Alvarado to make a general levy and to go to San Juan where he will await new orders. Everyone is anxious and many are frightened. No one knows where the undertakings of these people will stop. It is feared that they may appear any day and take possession of Monterey.

2. The *Junon*, British man-of-war, was off the coast of California June-July, 1846.

Excesses of all kinds are feared. These fears are justified; as these people, acting without the open and official sanction of the government of the Union, although doubtless obeying its secret encouragement (*impulsion*), offer no guaranty of moderation and of justice, they may go to any extreme. In that event [the United States Government] will clear itself by a disavowal.

Yes, Monsieur le Ministre, in these movements one may well see the secret direction of the American government. In fact, this form of activity and the continuous agitation dates from the arrival of its agent, M. Guilespie, on the banks of the Sacramento, and his interview with Captain Fremont. This individual has also communicated frequently with the corvette *Portsmouth*, anchored in the bay of San Francisco, whose presence lends a moral protection and a tacit assent to all these undertakings. On the other hand, the attempts of M. Larkin, his intrigues, his dealings with the authorities, and particularly with the Commandant General, perfectly coincide with these movements, emanate from the same source, and permit no further doubt. Your Excellency will well remember that M. Larkin is the United States Consul at Monterey.

As Your Excellency well understands, the American government is in haste to accomplish its ends, which are the occupation of California, and it does not consider the means. In its communications to M. Larkin it has evidenced some fears, real or feigned, concerning the pretended designs of France and England regarding this country. It is for that reason, without doubt, that it [the United States] is hastening so to take the lead.

I end here my long letter, Monsieur le Ministre. You will readily deduce, from all that I have had the honor of telling you, that the situation of this district could not be more deplorable or the general safety more compromised.

I have the honor to be with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET

Acting Consul.

[At this point three of Gasquet's dispatches to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Nos. 16, 17 and 18) are missing. They apparently dealt with the circumstances of the American occupation of Monterey and the activities which brought about the quarrel between Gasquet and the American Commodores Sloat and Stockton. The events are reviewed, however, in Dispatch No. 19 (Document XXIII, *infra*). The principal motive for the severe treatment of Gasquet by the American authorities appears to have been their belief that his protégé Cambuston was doing spy-duty for Pico and Castro, in which Gasquet was thought to be assisting more than was consistent with neutrality. The French government's failure to press with any vigor Gasquet's demand for a "glorious reparation" (Document XXVII, *infra*) was dictated, in part at least, by a conclusion—from Gasquet's own reports—that the measures taken against him were not without provocation.¹

1. This inference is borne out by a letter from the French ambassador, Pageot, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated at Washington, May 7, 1847. (Foreign Affairs, United States, Vol. 103 F. 91-96, No. 174.) After reviewing the correspondence submitted to him, and after speaking with the Secretary of State, Mr. Buchanan, who was as yet uninformed of the incident, Pageot forecast quite accurately the considerations that the American government would urge in justification of Stockton's action. He pointed to the political influence of Stockton with the (Democratic) party

For the American point of view see Sloat's Report to the Secretary of the Navy, quoted in the Introduction.]

XXII-a

COMMODORE STOCKTON TO GASQUET

(From Stockton's Letter Book containing copies of his official correspondence, in the Templeton Crocker Collection, California Historical Society.)

U. S. Frigate Congress
Bay of Monterey
July 25th, 1846.

Sir,

Having assumed the command of the United States forces in California, your insolent correspondence with my predecessor, has been submitted to me.

And I have to inform you, that I will not recognize you as the representative of the French government; you must leave Monterey within forty-eight hours, and if you are found after that time without permission, within twenty miles of the seacoast, you will be arrested and put in prison.

Yr. obdt. servt.

R. F. STOCKTON

Commodore & Commander in Chief.

To/

Mr. Fasquet [sic]
Monterey.

XXII-b

COMMODORE STOCKTON TO CAPTAIN MERVINE

(From Stockton's Letter Book)

U. S. Frigate Congress
Bay of Monterey
July 28th, 1846.

Sir,

In regard to Mr. Fasquet, I have to inform you, in answer to your inquiries on that subject, that I have not and will not, until I see some proper credentials, to show he has been appointed by the French government to be the French Consul at this place, recognise him as the representative of the French government here.

He has had no flag hoisted—he did not show to my predecessor any authority whatever, nor has he submitted to me any credentials of his office.

in power, and concluded that although "the lengths to which he went in his conduct toward M. Gasquet are too flagrant for the government to consent to cover them with its own responsibility," it would be unwise to ask for more than a "disavowal" of the Commodore's action. It would be embarrassing, he thought, to support a controversy which would turn not so much on "the character of the acts which we were denouncing" as on "the degree of indulgence that they would merit in view of the provocations which had caused them." As for Leyssegues, the Ambassador considered that he would do well to recover the value of his brandy, and he advised against any action on behalf of Cambuston who, he gathered from the evidence (which could only have been furnished by Gasquet), had been "caught in communication with the enemy."

I recognize in him only, an insolent, arrogant, presumptuous man; undoubtedly a bitter and violent enemy to the existing government here.

For his insolence in his correspondence, and for the hostile feeling manifested in his own letters, and for the reason that I have been informed, that he has no doubt been in communication with General Castro and others—I have ordered that he should retire twenty miles from the sea coast, or keep within his own premises.

If therefore you should find him outside of his own premises, you will cause him to be arrested and put in confinement.

If he should at any time want a pass to go into the country, and will promise not to come within twenty miles of the coast, you will give him such pass.

If I have in any way mistaken his character, or intentions, you are authorized to receive any explanations he may in a proper spirit, be disposed to submit to you.

In such an event, your own wise discretion must determine, what is proper to be done.

As long as he remains quiet in his domicile, you need not prevent persons visiting his house.

If however you should have any cause whatever, in addition to the evidence already furnished you, to suspect that he is in communication with the enemy; you will put him in close confinement; and not allow access to him, but by written order from you.

Faithfully

Yr. obdt. servt.

R. F. STOCKTON

Commodore.

To Captain Wm. Mervine,

Headquarters of the Army of Occupation.

XXIII

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";

Direction Commerciale; Bureau d'Amérique; No. 19, Duplicata.

Received May 14, 1847. No enclosures found.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, July 30, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

M. Stockton has only half accomplished his threat. He has placed me under arrest at home and gives me my house for a prison. He has spared me the public prison.

On the morning of the twenty-second I received two notes, one from the Commander and the other from the Alcalde named by M. Slout [Sloat] which informed me that I was free to leave Monterey. That you may understand this, I

must tell Your Excellency that on the twenty-fifth, the day on which I was told on behalf of M. Stockton that I must get out of Monterey within forty-eight hours, an order was published by which everyone was forbidden to leave Monterey during the same length of time. This measure had been taken upon the occasion of the departure of the cutter *Cyane* with 150 or 170 of Fremont's and Guilespie's men. She set out for San Diego with the intention of surprising Castro and his adherents, from whom they were hoping by this means [not allowing anyone to leave Monterey] to keep the object of the expedition hidden. M. Stockton believed or feigned to believe that I had not obeyed because of the general prohibition to leave and had addressed to me the two notes in question.

On the twenty-eighth toward nine o'clock in the morning, two officers came, by order of the Commodore, to arrest me and to assign my house for a prison. I asked if they had a written order and what was the content of their instructions. They could not or had not sufficient knowledge to give me an explanation. I asked M. Marnell [Hartnell]¹, a commendable man of this country who expresses himself equally well in English and French, to come to my house. I asked him to see the *Commandant de place* [Mervine] to find out from him if he had written orders and what these orders were. He had the kindness to go and find the Commander, who told him that he had received no written order and who referred him to the Commodore. This was the twenty-eighth. On the thirtieth I received through the agency of M. Mervine, *Commandant de place*, the written order that Your Excellency will find annexed to this despatch [apparently Document XXII-b, *supra*].

It is dated the twenty-seventh. This is a false date.²

Your Excellency will notice that throughout the gross injuries which are heaped upon me, there reigns a tone of uncertainty and a sort of hesitation before the enormity of the act which they have committed, in defiance of international law.

They are falling back upon their ignorance of my letters of credit which prove my appointment to the post at Monterey. I did not run up any flag, nor give to M. Slout the slightest recognition. I was *indubitably* a violent and active enemy of the present government and M. Stockton had been informed that *without doubt* I was in communication with Castro and others.

M. Stockton changed his mind rather late. In his first order, that of the twenty-fifth [Document XXII-a, *supra*], he was more proud and more frank; he went right to the point. He did not recognize me because my correspondence with his predecessor was insolent, and on the same ground enjoined me to leave Monterey within forty-eight hours, threatening me with prison in case of disobedience.

Later, with reflection, came doubts, and being unable to undo what had been done, they wanted to attenuate if they could not justify it. Hence the order which,

1. William Edward Petty Hartnell was an Englishman who came to California in 1822. He was the owner of the Alisal rancho in the Salinas Valley, but as he was a custom-house officer in 1846, he might well have been in Monterey. (Bancroft, III, 777.) Later in the same year he acted as interpreter in a trial at Monterey in which the prosecutor spoke English, the defendant French, most of the jury Spanish, and the witnesses "all the languages known in California." (Hittell, II, 590-591.)

2. It will be observed that the copy in Stockton's Letter Book bears date of the 28th.

after long meditation, was dictated to M. Mervine [Document XXII-b, *supra*.]

The predecessor of M. Stockton, M. Slout, had not asked me by what right I intermeddled in protesting against the taking of Monterey, in asserting the rights of the French established in California; he had accepted me as Consul from France, he answered my protest and my claims and addressed to me excuses, insufficient however, for the insult which had been done me in placing a guard before my house. I had not raised a flag, it is true; but Mr. Stockton ought to know that Mexican law forbids consuls to raise the flags of their nations, and that it is by tolerance and on authorization, asked as a favor, that an exception is made in certain localities. If I have not raised the flag, I have the arms of France over the entrance door of my house, and they are plain enough to be seen by all who pass in the street. Around this coat-of-arms is written in large letters, *Consulat de France*. M. Stockton knew my office and he cannot have supposed that I was usurping it. What he actually says of it now only proves his embarrassment. He would like to get out of this bad place into which anger and stupidity have thrown him and he does not know on what to call for aid. He will fall back, in a word, upon my hostility to his government and upon my communications with General Castro and others. You will see, Monsieur le Ministre, what they are going to do to me, the adviser of the opposition and the draftsman of the campaign plans of those who are defending their country. This poor M. Stockton, I pity him for having to resort to such pitiful excuses. It would have been better to speak and act brazenly (*à la Turque*) as in the first notice. There was frankness in his gross language which was like a challenge hurled at the power of the French nation. On M. Stockton's part it was brave [rash] to the point of absurdity.

Your Excellency, I have the honor of repeating, may remain convinced that I have shown neither antipathy nor partiality, that I have corresponded with neither Castro nor the others, and that I have been able to maintain my rôle of neutrality. I defy anyone to produce a line or cite a word of mine which shows unfriendly or inimical intentions toward the Americans. The motives of the irritation I have given at length to Your Excellency in Dispatch Number Eighteen [missing]. I shall not revert to that. I shall simply make a statement of what has been done by the American authorities against French subjects and the Consul of France.

"On the 7th, seizure of Monterey.

"On the 10th, the *Commandant de place*, without cause [orders] seized and threw into the street the brandy of M. Olivier de Leys-sègue [Leyssègues] whom he sends to prison. The Commodore recognizes the wrongs of the Commandant and orders payment for the brandy.

"On the 13th, a sentry is placed in front of the consular residence, with orders to allow no one to enter.

"On the 23rd, M. Cambuston is arrested at ten o'clock at night, taken aboard the *Savannah* where he is kept all night and sent the

next day to a foul cell in the custody of the Alcalde. He is left thirty-six hours without food.

"On the 24th, first demand of the Consul to which M. Sloat responds. Reply from the Consul, and on the 25th, like a bolt from the blue, comes the order from M. Stockton, enjoining the French Consul. . . .

[Apparently a passage is missing at this point.—*Ed.*]

"On the 28th, arrest of the latter in his house.

"On the 30th, sending of a written order given by M. Stockton to M. Mervine by which it is sought to explain what has been done!"

I ask Your Excellency; from which side have the offenses and insults come? On which side are the unfriendly and hostile feelings? The facts which proclaim it aloud are there and what can lying assertions and gross insults avail against them?

Your Excellency will think that an offense of this nature cannot be passed over in silence; that the dignity of France demands a striking reparation. You will obtain such a one, Monsieur le Ministre, I am confident; no commander of armed force, no authority in any country will henceforth incur the responsibility of a similar violation of international law.³

* * * * *

It is truly deplorable to see a command of such importance [entrusted] to a man of this sort who plays England's game (*qui s'en vient jouer la partie de l'Angleterre*). I deplore it more than another might, because I foresee the grievous consequences which his conduct may have. Permit me to tell you frankly, Monsieur le Ministre, I would not at any price play into the hands of the English Cabinet (*faire la partie belle au Cabinet Anglais*). If this country, the possession of which I should have desired for France, must finally fall into the power of the Americans or of the English, it is much better, in my opinion, that the former should occupy it. Such, it seems to me, is the true interest of my country, and [even] a just resentment for the injury done me will not cause me to lose sight of it.

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul,

GASQUET

3. Two paragraphs describing the person and character of Commodore Stockton have here been omitted at the request of the Foreign Office of the French Government.—*Ed.*

XXIV

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";
Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amérique, No. 20, Duplicata.
Received May 14, 1847.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, August 1, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I again take up with Your Excellency the affairs of Messieurs Olivier and Cambuston.

M. Olivier has not yet, in spite of most formal promises, received the price of his brandy; and, now that M. Sloat has left, it is to be presumed that he never will receive it. If Your Excellency will examine this affair closely, as I have presented it to you in my dispatch of the twenty-sixth of July, numbered eighteen [missing], you will see how plainly evident is the injustice and the rudeness of the treatment of which M. Olivier has been the victim. You will judge that the satisfaction promised but not given is sufficient and that we should profit by this failure, by demanding an indemnity for this French subject which will sufficiently compensate him.

I have the honor of proposing that Your Excellency be pleased to demand for M. Olivier de Leyssègues a sum of a thousand *piastres* or five thousand francs.

M. Cambuston has been tried. He was sentenced only to pay a sum of twenty *piastres* or one hundred francs.

This sentence is unjust in every respect, and moreover, it was rendered against the most elementary rules of jurisdiction (*compétence*). Your Excellency will be convinced of it upon reading the notes which I have exchanged with M. Sloat on this subject and which I annexed to my dispatch numbered eighteen [missing].

But what should especially strike Your Excellency, is the triviality of this sentence compared with the violent means employed against M. Cambuston for the ostensible purpose of rendering justice to the plaintiff. To arrest a citizen in his own house at ten o'clock at night, to carry him away on board a ship, to detain him there all night, then to send him secretly to a dungeon, depriving him of food for thirty-six hours and all that ending in a sentence of one hundred francs! Oh! evidently the words here serve to hide the intent, and hypocrisy of language can not impose on anyone.

M. Cambuston¹ has unjustly suffered imprisonment and solitary confinement, together with bad treatment to his person, in consequence of guilty intrigue or of odious prejudice. He has the right to a reparation. I entreat Your Excellency to ask for him a sum of two thousand *piastres* or ten thousand francs by way of damages.

1. Henri Cambuston, who has already figured in Gasquet's letters and in notes thereto, came to California from Mexico in 1841. He married Gabriela Soberanes and was appointed by José Castro to the post of Director of the Establishment of Education. During 1843-5 he served as Public Printer, publishing among other things several small school books. Bancroft (II, 740) describes him as "a man of some ability, but often in trouble on account of intemperate habits." He was a witness in the Limantour case, and about 1856 was committed to the Stockton Insane Asylum, where he died a few years later. (Departmental Records MS., XIII, 37; Departmental State Papers, Benicia, MS., III, 33. Deposition in *U. S. vs. Limantour*, U. S. Dist. Ct., No. Div. Cal., No. 424, p. 583, *et seq.*, 1857.) See Documents XVI and XVII, which deal with Cambuston's quarrel with one of the Castros.

I like to believe that the Government of His Majesty will not care to allow such attacks upon the liberty and rights of its nationals to go unpunished and that it will not fail to strive for redress.

I have the honor of being with the most profound respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul

GASQUET

XXV

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";
Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amérique, No. 21, Duplicata.
Received May 4, 1847.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, August 1, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

M. Stockton, who was losing sleep on account of the laurels of M. Sloat, wished also to give us a sample of his eloquence. Immediately after the departure of the latter, who embarked for Panama on the cutter *Levant*, he addressed to the inhabitants of California a proclamation a copy of which I have the honor of sending to Your Excellency.¹

It is nearly the opposite of M. Sloat's² and, as it were, its corrective. It was desired to deaden the bad effect which the strongly expressed intention to make of California a new state of the Union must produce in Europe. It was desired also to prepare a way out in case of failure, and it was thought that this could be accomplished by proclaiming that the occupation would only be temporary and would be renounced as soon as the Mexican government should have given the satisfactions exacted and that order and security would be guaranteed in California by the establishment of a good administration.

Your Excellency will fall into no error concerning the motives which dictated this tardy declaration and, moreover, will take care not to give the least credit to it. The Americans will leave California only when forced and constrained to do so, and they think that they will be able to avoid this extremity. They are going to try to fortify themselves in order to resist a bold stroke, and in case, by open force or according to treaty, they should be obliged to abandon this country, they expect to leave it in a state such that it would not be long in again falling into their hands through the aid of the incessant emigration that they have organized on the frontiers. Thus the bands of Guilespie and Fremont would soon reappear, more numerous, better prepared and reviving the banner of the bear

1. The copy of Stockton's Proclamation (undated but issued on July 29, 1846) which Gasquet sent to Paris is not to be found with his dispatch. This document, however, is well known, and may be found in Bancroft, V, 255-57, and in United States Documents, 29th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Executive Document 4*, pp. 640 *et seq.* and *ibid*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, *House Executive Document 1*, part ii, pp. 31-33.

2. Sloat's Proclamation may be found in Bancroft, V, pp. 234 *et seq.* and in the United States Documents cited in the preceding note.

and star. At any price they want the possession of California and, cost what it may, they will get it. And when one knows the beauty and richness of this country, the incalculable advantages of its position and the immense increase of power that it should bring to the United States, one cannot be astonished at the obstinacy of their efforts. It is for the powers of Europe to take notice and more particularly France and England, whose interests and influence are menaced in America and Oceania.

Today, the first of the month, the frigate *Congress*, with M. Stockton aboard, has set sail for Santa Barbara and other southern points of the *département*. M. Stockton's intention is to dissipate entirely the little force that the Commandant General and the Governor have around them [and] to bring these two chiefs jointly or one of them separately to negotiate for the surrender of California. He relies on the lassitude of the inhabitants, on the inefficacy of their resistance, the few resources and munitions that they possess and he hopes easily to manage the Governor on whom he focuses his new projects. M. Stockton took with him M. Larkins [Thomas O. Larkin], ex-American Consul, with the intention of seeing whether his long acquaintance with the men and the affairs of this country can bring about an amicable reconciliation. He has none the less not neglected the means of force he has at his disposal and which will be of great use to him either to continue the struggle if necessary, or to intimidate and disarm the recalcitrants.

Already some days before, the cutter *Cyerne* [*Cyane*] had left carrying Fremont's and Guilespie's men. It was thought that she would disembark them at San Diego from whence they would quickly repair to the city of Los Angeles, the meeting place of the authorities and the Californian troops. This movement, combined with the landing of certain troops from the frigate *Congress* at Santa Barbara or at San Pedro, should bring about the destruction or the surrender of these forces. We await the events which are about to take place at these distant points. I shall have the honor of giving an account of them to Your Excellency as soon as I receive certain news of them.

On the tenth of the month of July, just past, General Castro began his movement of retreat. He left from *Saint Jean* [San Juan Bautista] at the head of two hundred men. Desertion had thinned his ranks and menaced him with total abandonment. On the twelfth and thirteenth he had only a hundred and fifty men left when he met the Governor who, from Santa Barbara, had advanced to *Sainte Marguerite* [Santa Margarita]. The misfortunes of their country had prepared their hearts for a reconciliation which had all the marks of effusion and sincerity. They swore to forget the past and go to work in common for the salvation of the country. It was a bit late. What might have been possible last year or even three or four months ago, if a spirit of foresight had brought them to an accord so imperatively demanded by the circumstances, if they had listened to the warnings which a friendly and disinterested voice was giving them, was no longer possible then, and the most energetic resolutions could end only in disaster and total ruin.

A declaration of independence and recourse to a foreign protectorate seemed to me the most efficacious measures, if taken at the opportune time, to save the

country from the ambitious projects of the Union. Good minds recognized the propriety of this advice and only contested its opportuneness. They were afraid of this Mexican expedition with which they had been menaced for so long and this fear caused them to neglect and lose the only way of salvation left to them. It was in vain to tell them that Mexico was reduced by her interior revolutions to ridiculous impotence and that she would send no expedition because she lacked everything necessary for it; it was impossible to reassure them completely on the subject.

Later, when they became convinced of the powerlessness of Mexico, and [when] rumours of war between that Republic and the United States took on reality and gave them serious fears for the safety of their territory, they wanted to have recourse to a declaration of independence and a request for protection. The time was pressing and it was then that the decree of the Departmental Assembly appeared which ordered the meeting of an extraordinary *junta* instructed to take the measures which the circumstances might require. Union was more than ever a duty for all influential men. Without that, it was impossible to bring to a happy conclusion an affair of this importance. You know, Monsieur le Ministre, how all was lost for want of harmony and good faith.

Other causes also contributed to this result, and I do not wish to keep them from Your Excellency.

Since my arrival in California, I have seriously occupied myself with its situation, the difficulties and the obstacles of which in the midst of diverse claims domestic as well as foreign did not escape me. I never believed in a Mexican expedition; I knew too well the incapacity and powerlessness of the Mexican government. I knew that this country was going to escape from it and fall into the hands of North America or England. The two governments were plotting, yet with unequal chances; the advantage seemed to be with the first. I began to study the will of the people with care, and I readily ascertained that neither the one nor the other of these nations had their sympathies. Their religion, their language, and their habits were a thousand leagues away from her [the American] religion, customs, and tongue. There was rather repugnance. I heard the French favorably spoken of. The visit of the frigates *Venus* and *Artemise* and of the cutter *Danaïde* were recalled with pleasure. Praise of the officers was in the mouths of all; their amiability, their kind attention to the fair sex, their affable manners had won for them the affection of everyone. I believed it possible to benefit by these memories to attract the attention of the Californians to the side of France. I seized all possible opportunities to praise her power, the protection that she extended over all the Catholics in the world, the liberality and generosity of her institutions. I put myself in close contact with the most influential men and I was able in a short time to make them desire her protection. I awaited, with impatience, the arrival of the admiral³ in order to communicate to him the progress that I had made along this line; to know what he thought of my plans and definitely if he believed that

3. Abel du Petit-Thouars was at this time engaged in the conquest of the Society Islands. (See Introduction to Part II.)

they would be approved by the government. Unfortunately the admiral did not come; no French warship appeared on the coast; events happened rapidly and I saw myself powerless to direct them in a path favorable to the power and interests of France. I believe that I can assure Your Excellency that, without compromising the government, without encounters of any sort which could have hindered its ends, by the sole fact of the presence of a ship in Californian waters, the *junta* would have met and requested the protection of France.

The Americans had then very little chance; the struggle would have been centered between the partisans of France and those of England; but the latter would in all probability have given in. The absence of a French force gave cause to fear that the majority would turn the other way, and it may be believed that, if the meeting had taken place in these circumstances England would have reaped the fruits of her plots. Her Consul, M. [James Alexander] Forbes, had received instructions on this subject; the cutter *Junon* [the *Juno*, Captain Blake] had been sent to him to support his negotiations toward which everything seemed to promise a favorable issue. A single means remained to avoid this result, that was to prevent the meeting of the *junta*, and it is this [means] that was taken. For this it sufficed to give full rein to the passions and jealousies of the chiefs, which could have been restrained if it had been a question of another interest. This succeeded marvelously. M. Forbes and the commander of the *Junon* tried in vain to convince the governor and the assembly that it was necessary to disregard this obstacle and to declare [the] independence [of California], guaranteeing them the protection of England. All was useless; they could obtain nothing.

The cutter had brought an Irish priest, M. Eugene Macnemara⁴ who it is said is a Jesuit and whose worldly manners, spirit of intrigue, and dexterity in affairs show him to be of the same family with some [other] members of the celebrated company [order]. He had come to ask of the Governor and he got from him the concession of an immense tract of land, nearly eighty leagues, for the establishment of an Irish colony. This gentleman affected to say quite loudly that his action was uninfluenced by the English Cabinet, although all his steps had been well planned in advance, and I am well convinced that he undertook nothing of his own motion. I am thoroughly convinced that England and her agents have not lost the hope of establishing themselves in California. They regard the American occupation as very precarious and they are putting themselves in a position to replace them. M. Macnamara has laid a stepping stone; the others will soon follow. This must be well understood in France if it is to be opposed, and if advantage is to be taken of the good will that [the Californian] chiefs and population manifest for us.

Here, Monsieur le Ministre, are the bases on which it seemed to me possible to make a treaty of protection which would not be onerous for France:

4. Father Eugene McNamara was an Irish priest who late in 1844 appeared before the British Ambassador in Mexico City, Bankhead, and laid before him a scheme for the colonization of California by Irish emigrants. He planned to start his colonizing scheme by planting a thousand Irish families in the San Francisco Bay region. Bankhead seemed not to be very interested in the project and did not send news of it to Aberdeen until six months later. (Concerning the McNamara project see Bancroft, V, 215-23. For activities of England concerning California, see Adams, "English Interests in the Annexation of California" in *American Historical Review*, XIV, 744-66.)

The independence of Upper California recognized by the government of His Majesty and under His protection on the condition that the bay and port of San Francisco should be ceded, in full sovereignty, to France, together with the territory which extends to the north and east to the extreme limit of the Spanish possessions and which would comprise the basin of the Sacramento river and its tributaries, as well as a part of the territory to the south of this same bay the limits of which would be determined precisely by agreement with the new state. We could stipulate for the reservation of the commerce for France, and the placing, with the government, of a French agent who would always be consulted in important affairs and principally as to the admission of foreigners, over which he would have the right to exercise an absolute veto.

These principal conditions would be granted, I think, without great difficulty. They would have in their favor [the advantages] of protecting the frontiers of California against the incursion of American bands, and of flattering the passion of the inhabitants for their independence, two things that they know themselves to be incapable of obtaining without assistance from and the protection of a great power. They would gain by this entire security, good direction for their local government, and dispensation of justice as well as the possibility of developing the germs of prosperity which are present in their territory.

The advantages for France would have consisted in the acquisition of a port, one of the greatest, one of the most beautiful and safe in the world, which some well-conducted fortifications would render impregnable, in a considerable territory well divided and well watered by numerous streams, which [territory] intelligent labor would soon cover with rich crops, bearing upon its surface great forests which would give, in quantity, wood for building and enclosing within its midst, mineral riches as abundant perhaps, and, certainly more varied than those of Mexico, in a territory which from the salubrity and mildness of its climate, the advantages of its position, the resources of all kinds that it possesses and which only need labor for their development, is predestined to become, in the course of time, the seat of a great empire.

The consequences of this acquisition would have led naturally to a movement of commerce and navigation favorable to our merchant marine and to our industry; would have given to our establishments in Oceania an importance and a solidity which they need in order to become profitable for France; and would have augmented in a great proportion the influence of the latter over the innumerable groups of islands which cover the Pacific Ocean.

To all these incontestable material advantages, another, of a moral and not less precious nature would have been added. A beautiful French colony, established and prospering on the American continent, would have raised France in the eyes of foreigners and of her own children, from the [reputation for] incapacity for colonization which, unjustly I believe, is attributed to her; without reckoning that it would have been quite a categorical repulse to the exorbitant pretensions of M. Polk.

There, Monsieur le Ministre, you have the ideas which have made me desire

this country for France and which have directed my conduct in my relations with the inhabitants and the authorities. My projects tended to make them desire and ask for her protection (and I believe that I could have accomplished it) without engaging or compromising the government; without assurances or promises on my part which could have made them suppose that I was authorized to give them hope. Far from that; I have always continued carefully to explain to them that I was ignorant of the intentions of my government on the subject of California and that I had no other mission among them than that of performing the duties of my consular office.

Now, all has changed. My plans have been upset by the American conquest and until it ends, if it is to end, one must not think of taking them up again.

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul

GASQUET

XXVI

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";

Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amérique, No. 22, Duplicata.

Received May 14, 1847. No enclosures found.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, August 25, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor of announcing to Your Excellency the end of the resistance, or to speak more correctly, the seeming resistance which the Americans encountered in their plans of occupation. All Upper California now acknowledges their laws. The armed force which troubled them has scattered; the Commandant General has left for Mexico by land, escorted by about fifteen men of his staff. The Governor accompanied him in his flight, but at several leagues from Los Angeles they separated, having quarreled again, it is said. The latter hid himself in his *rancho* according to some, and according to others has taken the Lower California road to Mexico. Not a single shot was fired, and never can such an important victory (*position*) have cost less in fatigue and dangers.

M. Castro, as soon as he learned of the arrival of the *Congress* at San Pedro, hastened to write to the Commodore to ask him on what basis it would be possible to come to terms and restore peace in the country. I address to you, Monsieur le Ministre, the reply of the Commodore. It will enable you better to understand the value that his government attaches to the adherence of the inhabitants. I spare Your Excellency the reply¹ which carried the refusal of the Commandant General as well as two proclamations which he addressed to his fellow citizens recommending that they remain faithful to the mother country and lend no assist-

1. Castro's letter to Stockton may be read in Bancroft, I, 268. See also *ibid.*, pp. 268-74.

ance to the Americans. M. Castro has conducted himself to the end like a gentleman and good citizen; and if he has not better resisted the American invasion it is because he lacked the elements of a serious defense. He left his country a fugitive, nearly without resources, not knowing what sort of a welcome awaits him in Mexico and leaving his wife and children here in a situation which is precarious and deserving of interest. He preferred his duty to fortune. Also, pray permit me to express here, Monsieur le Ministre, the sentiments of high regard and consideration [that] his conduct has inspired in me, and to call the attention of the government to him.

By a proclamation dated the seventeenth of this month², the Commodore announced to us the occupation of the city of Los Angeles by the forces under his command, and the end of the war. I have the honor of transmitting a copy of it to you. M. Stockton has changed his tune. According to him California is going to form a new state of the American Union. She has ceased to belong to Mexico. His new tune is explained by the arrival of an American officer bearing dispatches from his government. This officer crossed all of Mexico as an Englishman; arriving at Mazatlan he chartered a Mexican ship (the *Republican*) to bring him to California. It is said that he brings official news of the war between the United States and Mexico and of the blockade of Mexican ports in the Gulf by a large squadron of American ships. This news has put to an end the hesitation and uncertainties of M. Stockton and has caused him to retract the statements and the projects of his predecessor concerning California.

Pending the organization of the government, it [California] is placed under martial law and has no other guarantees than the *moderation* and the *justice* of him who calls himself governor and protector of her territory. The Californian officers who surrendered have seen the conditions imposed on them at first grow worse. A simple declaration henceforth not to bear arms against the United States is no longer enough. They have made them swear and sign, *under pain of death*, never to do, say, or write anything harmful to the public tranquility and to the honor of the present government. It is an excess of precaution unheard of to this day and which can at any moment compromise the liberty and lives of the unfortunates who found themselves forced to submit to the law. Neither the state of the country, nor past dangers, since none have existed, can justify it in any way. It will serve only to increase antipathy and hate, and to foster desires for vengeance in Californian hearts.

These exigencies also alter and make worse the situation of foreign residents whom they expose to the vexations of a capricious and disorderly authority. These considerations make me regret the more strongly, in the interests of our citizens, the absence of a French force on these coasts.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul

GASQUET

2. 29th Cong. 2d Sess., H. Ex. Doc. No. 4, pp. 669-70.

XXVII

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";
Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amérique, No. 23, Duplicata.
Received May 14, 1847.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, September 17, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

On the sixteenth of this month at five o'clock in the evening my imprisonment came to an end.¹ It has lasted fifty-one well counted and very long days, Your Excellency may be sure. My health has been slightly affected by this prolonged detention, but I shall not occupy myself with it because it is the least important feature of this affair. The dignity and honor of France scandalously outraged, without motive and with a brutality of which one could hardly find examples in the annals of civilized nations, call for and should occupy the undivided attention of His Majesty.

In the interest of the influence and power of our country on the seas, of the independence and security of its agents, it is necessary that it draw from this outrage a glorious reparation. I have every reason to hope that it will recognize this necessity and will act accordingly.²

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,
Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET

XXVIII

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";
Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amérique, No. 24, Duplicata.
Received May 14, 1847.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, October 3, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the regret to inform Your Excellency of a conflict which has arisen between the Commander of the war-ship His Majesty's cutter *Brillante* [E. de Bouzet] and myself on the subject of etiquette. The *Brillante* arrived the first of this month at four o'clock in the afternoon, and at six o'clock the Commander sent an officer to greet me and to put at my disposal a ship's-boat in order to go aboard. I observed to the officer that up to the present the Commanders of the

1. Here again we have a curious confusion of dates. Stockton's letter to Mervine, directing the latter to "relieve Mr. Fasquet (sic) from the restrictions heretofore placed upon him, and refer him to my Proclamation of the 17th of August, to regulate his future conduct whilst he remains in this Territory," as copied in Stockton's Letter Book, is dated September 18th.

2. A letter was written by the French Minister at Washington to Secretary of State Buchanan, April 30, 1847, calling attention to this and other incidents complained of by Gasquet. In reply, the Secretary wrote a vigorous note submitting Commodore Sloat's statement of what had occurred and sustaining the action taken, and the French Government let the matter drop. These letters are printed in the Introduction.

ships which came to Monterey had made me the first visit and I told him that I thought that M. du Bouze [de Bouzet] should be willing to follow the example of six colleagues and that [this] seemed better to me in the circumstances.

The next day at seven in the morning I received from the Commander a letter in which, referring to the royal ordinance of the seventh of November, 1833, he recalled to me that he owes the first visit only to Consuls-General and Consuls and that consequently his duty is to await my visit.

I did not share the opinion of M. du Bouze. I had not the title of Consul, it is true, but I was exercising the functions of one. I was Acting Consul [Gérant du Consulat], and in that quality, authorized to do all the acts, and in natural consequence entitled to enjoy all the prerogatives of a Consul, quite different in that respect from the consular agent, whose lesser, but well defined, privileges and importance must have caused him to attribute [to me] corresponding honors. I did not believe this to be the case and I responded with a refusal.

I join to my letter, the letter of the Commander and my reply. You will appreciate my motives and will judge my conduct, Monsieur le Ministre; I submit myself beforehand to your decision whatever it may be. But may I tell Your Excellency, what I have had to suffer after having been treated so unworthily as I have been by the American authorities, after having awaited so long the coming of a French ship, to be obliged to discuss a question of etiquette and thereby to lose precious moments.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul

GASQUET¹

XXIX

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches";
Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amérique, Primata. Received
January 20, 1847. Extract sent to Direction des Fonds, January
30, 1847.)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Monterey, October 4, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

Yesterday, the third of this month, at four o'clock in the afternoon, I turned over my post to M. Moerenhaut, appointed Consul at Monterey and [who] arrived on the *Brillante*.

We did not have the order before our eyes; we did not prepare a formal record; I merely made a note of the papers and of the objects which I was turning over to him and we both signed it in duplicate.

1. For the other side of this tempest in a teapot see Consul Moerenhaut's dispatch to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monterey, October 6, 1846, which will be found among the Moerenhaut correspondence in Part II, and a portion of which is quoted in the introduction to the Gasquet correspondence.

The *Brillante*, before coming here, had touched at San Francisco, where the American frigate *Congress* is. M. Moerenhaut saw the Commodore [Stockton] with whom he became on the best of terms. He received from him a recommendation to the American Commandant at Monterey and M. Moerenhaut hastened to make use of it immediately after the cutter dropped anchor. I do not censure, I am far from wishing to censure; I merely state the facts. The circumstances were delicate nevertheless, and perhaps Your Excellency will think that it would have been better to have considered twice before accepting the favors of an authority which has so insolently crushed underfoot the prerogatives of a French agent and the dignity of France. This haste produced a bad effect which was not diminished by the question of etiquette raised between the Commander [of the cutter] and me. I did not go on board at all; as a consequence I was not saluted and one will infer from this that these gentlemen were implicitly recognizing the right that M. Stockton had assumed of disregarding my consular authority and of treating me as he has done. This was not the truth; far from it; but the appearances were there, and the impression remains.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET

XXX

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Lettres Extra-Officielles." Direction Commerciale; Bureau d'Amérique. Received May 14, 1847.)

Monterey, January 12, 1847.

Monsieur le Ministre:

By my despatch of the twenty-fifth of last August, numbered 22 [Document XXVI] I had the honor of announcing to Your Excellency the submission of California to the American forces. The lack of understanding among the Californian authorities and local jealousies hastened this result and seemed to promise to the victor long days of quiet. The struggle had been without danger and consequently without glory. No bloodshed, except that of two young twin brothers and of an old man, mercilessly massacred¹ by the bands from Sonoma, marked the triumph of the Americans. However they could not triumph moderately. Their words and their actions were coarse, violent, and at the same time unbelievably awkward. In a short time they had alienated completely the few friends that they had here and they ended by exasperating the entire population to such a point that it was forced again to take up arms and to recommence the struggle.

1. José de los Reyes Berreyesa and his nephews, the twin brothers Francisco and Ramon de Haro, were killed near San Rafael, June 28, 1846, by Kit Carson and other scouts sent out by Frémont, who with a company of Bear Flag insurgents had occupied San Rafael two days before. One of the twins was carrying a message from Castro to De la Torre, but they offered no resistance which could in any way have justified the shooting. Whether Frémont's orders to Carson were such as to warrant placing the responsibility for this wanton act on him (as Bancroft does) is a disputed point. The motive, apparently, was revenge for the killing of two American insurgents, Cowie and Fowler, by a party of Californians under Padilla and Carrillo. (See Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, pp. 160-61, 171-74, especially Note 2, p. 172, where the conflicting testimony is cited.)

Commodore Stockton left a force of fifty men in the city of Los Angeles under the orders of M. Guilespie. At San Diego, one man represented the American power. This was a Frenchman, the *Sieur* Ancelin,² about whom Your Excellency had not done me the honor of asking information. The Commodore had given him, I no longer know what title. For if these American gentlemen are very touchy about foreigners who take up arms against them and let themselves be carried to the point of odious menaces, they make not the least scruple in the world of accepting their services. At Santa Barbara, about forty leagues from Los Angeles, he [Stockton] left a garrison of twenty men. In all, seventy-one men to guard Los Angeles which has a population of nearly 4,000 souls, San Diego which has 200 and Santa Barbara which has 1,000. This was to compromise these forces and even to expose them to certain loss in the midst of people who abhor the Americans and whose prompt submission has been brought about more by divisions, weakness, and ignorance of the chiefs than by any ascendancy of American arms.

The Commodore did not realize the dangers of the situation. He had hastened to return here and to San Francisco to put on the airs of a conqueror. In the latter place, where Americans abound, they arranged a sort of an ovation for him, and burned before him incense which, though vulgar, went none the less to his head, if one can judge by the speeches which are attributed to him and which bespeak a sick mind. He spoke of nothing less than conquering all of America as far as Cape Horn with only the forces which he commanded. It was in the midst of this braggadocio and this noise that the first news of an insurrection at Los Angeles reached him. At this he became madly furious. He said publicly that he would go to chastise the rebels and that he would march through the streets of the city of Los Angeles in blood up to his knees. The odious here vies with the ridiculous.

The causes of this insurrection are not, even at this hour, well known. They accuse the *Sieur* Guilespie of vexations and outrages toward several citizens of note. He made a show of superb scorn for the Californians and missed no occasion to wound and humiliate them. In brief, he did so well that it furnished a thousand reasons for revolt to some ill-disposed people, who cherished deep rancor in their hearts. Toward the middle of September the movement began, and in several days all the population found themselves up in arms. M. Flores, the Mexican Lieutenant Colonel, was put at the head of these improvised soldiers; they hemmed in the city and soon surrounded the quarter where Guilespie was confined with his troop. The latter saw that he had to surrender, but he managed to obtain an honorable capitulation. He was able to retire with arms and supplies to San Pedro which is nine leagues from Los Angeles and is its port. There he was received by the frigate *Savannah* which M. Stockton had despatched in all haste from San Francisco. The *Sieur* Ancelin embarked on a merchant ship and the garrison of Santa Barbara abandoned the city and came back to Monterey at the price of a thousand fatigues.³

2. It is often difficult to judge whether the abbreviation "Sr." is intended to stand for the Spanish *Señor* or the French *Sieur*, which latter may carry a connotation of disparagement. Dr. Alfred Ancelin arrived in California in 1843, served as surgeon in the *batallón fijo*, 1843-45, and took an active part in the revolt against Micheltorena. It is recorded that he had a land claim in California, and that he died at San Benito rancho in 1853. (Bancroft, II, 698; IV, 399, 483.)

3. See the spirited account of the retreat of this little band from Santa Barbara in Rev. Walter Colton's *Three Years in California*, New York, 1850, pp. 89-91.

M. Mervine, the commander of the *Savannah*, wished to have, to himself alone, the honor of reconquering the city of Los Angeles. He landed about three hundred men of his following, joined to them the troops of Guilespie and marched in the direction of that city. About half way he met a hundred and fifty Californians on horseback manoeuvring a piece of ordnance with considerable skill according to his own report; this cavalry remained at a distance and sent him a shot from time to time. In this game four of his men were killed and six badly wounded. He did not think he should go on; he ordered a retreat and hurried to regain San Pedro, followed all the way by the Californian horsemen who caused him more fright than harm and let him reembark without troubling him too much.

This action promptly acquired considerable notoriety and importance. This was the first time that the Californians had tested themselves against the American troops in the open field and success had crowned their audacity. More news followed. People talked of the arrival of the Commandant General with a thousand Mexican soldiers; the number [of the Californian forces] increased and soon all the country was in insurrection.

The Commodore left for San Pedro where he rejoined the *Savannah*. He ordered a landing and on the same night countermanded it. He took Guilespie and his troops on board his frigate, the *Congress*, and transported them to San Diego, which he had them occupy after having reenforced them. He sent the *Savannah* to Monterey and San Francisco with orders to hasten the departure of the force which Fremont was organizing at Monterey. This organizing took much time; he was obliged to recruit volunteers of all nationalities, and even Indians. They were for the most part men lost in debt and debauchery, deserters from whaling vessels whose desertion was encouraged and who were paid at the rate of 25 *piastres* or 125 francs a month. From such diverse elements, he succeeded in forming a corps of about 300 men, badly armed, knowing little of war and in general very bad horsemen. He mounted two field-pieces and left Monterey on the eighteenth of last November. His departure took place following a skirmish between a detachment of Californians and one of Americans in which the latter came off very badly. They had fifteen men killed. It was on the sixteenth of the same month of November near a farm called "*La Nativité*," nine or ten leagues from Monterey.

Fear overcame the Americans and inspired them to harsh and violent measures. They carried off horses, saddles and bridles, [and] arms, and no longer permitted anyone to go out or to travel without a passport. At Monterey they had the streets barricaded and forbade the use of them after eight o'clock in the evening. Arbitrary and capricious arrests were made. They respected no one's home and went about at all hours of the day and night, searching houses without form or formality, now under one pretext, now under another.

But I return to *Sieur* Fremont whom I shall not follow in all his movements. The Commodore, on his part, will have marched on this city from San Diego or San Pedro. Have they succeeded in joining their forces and have they wiped out the shame of the defeat of the Commandant Mervine? We shall soon know. If

some important news arrives here before I put my correspondence on the ship which is to carry it to the Sandwich Islands, I shall not fail to instruct Your Excellency concerning it.

Towards the middle of last December another insurrection broke out in the environs of San Francisco. Señor Sanchez,⁴ a Californian officer, gathered together several individuals with whom he forcibly carried away an American officer who was acting as alcalde at Yerba Buena, also six men who were with him. Pursued in all directions he had two or three encounters with the Americans in which he was able to gain the advantage. However, whether [by reason of] lassitude, discouragement, or foreign suggestions, we have just learned that, [when he was] on the point of again coming to grips [with the Americans] near Santa Clara, he consented, on the most extraordinary intervention of M. Forbes, English Consul, to lay down his arms and return to his home. He was promised security, and that the past would be forgotten, for his companions as well as for himself. M. Forbes vouched for the execution of this arrangement.

These are the principal events which have taken place since the departure of my despatch of the twenty-fifth of August.⁵ I do not know and no one can say when and how all this will end. The country is desolate and devastated. The American troops and principally those under the orders of M. Fremont have given themselves up to all [manner of] disorders. They have pillaged the ranchos, stolen horses and harness, burned several houses and destroyed the crops which were stored there. The *commandants de place* have not hesitated at any arbitrary or violent act. No respect for property or liberty; each takes what is to his taste and the mouths of those who wish to protest are closed with threats. I am always astonished to see republicans profess this sovereign scorn for the rights of others and trample on all the rules of justice, usually without the necessity which may sometimes extenuate or excuse but never justify such violations. I wonder if these are really Americans who act so; citizens of the United States, where, we are told, liberty [and] human dignity are surrounded by so many guarantees; and to see the rage, the violence and the scorn that they habitually demonstrate in the exercise of their authority, I tremble for the future of a country where such customs can arise.

Lying vulgarly and needlessly at every turn, shouting, hoisting themselves on stilts to seem immeasurably tall; such are the means that they call to the aid of their policy. To hear them, their nation is the first in the world; none is comparable to it and none could fight against it. England would make but three or four mouthfuls for them and a bite would do for France. This is extravagant insolence, it is true, but as they have been successful up to the present, and as they think they have intimidated England, these successes added to the high opinion which is expressed of them abroad make their hearts swell to the point of overflowing in these hyperbolic exaggerations.

4. In December, 1846, Francisco Sanchez organized a band of about one hundred rancheros in the vicinity of Santa Clara, with the object of retaliating for confiscation of horses and supplies and various other depredations of Frémont's men. Their principal exploits were the capture of a foraging party under Alcalde Bartlett of San Francisco and participation in the safe and sane "battle of Santa Clara." Sanchez surrendered to Captain Maddox at Santa Clara, January 7, 1847. (Bancroft, *op. cit.* *supra*, pp. 378-83; Colton, *Three Years in California*, p. 152.)

5. See Document XXVI.

To come back to California, how many lies have they told us? Where are these thousands of emigrants who were expected any day, and who were to inundate the country? What has become of the regiment of mounted riflemen which was on the march for these parts? Outside of the crews of their warships, they are hardly able to form a corps of three hundred men for which they have recruited the riffraff of all nationalities and are paying their weight in gold for their services. And now that the inhabitants have recovered from their first surprise, they hold in check, in all parts of the territory, the proud conquerors that nothing would stop. A handful of men—excellent horsemen, it is true, but little inured to war, badly armed and worse commanded—successfully resist this American power which was said to be irresistible. And if the struggle is prolonged and some man of courage and capacity who can inspire confidence in the Californians comes to lead them, to direct and concentrate their efforts, too scattered now, we shall see the Americans driven from all their positions and obliged to abandon this land which they have so long coveted, and which they thought they were annexing to their empire.

I pray Your Excellency not to see exaggeration in the report that I have the honor of submitting to you, nor rancor in the judgment that I render on the deeds and words of the Americans. The bad treatment they gave me has not affected my calm. I feel neither resentment nor anger and if I desire that satisfaction be given France, it is in the interest of her influence which would be seriously compromised here when it shall become known that it [satisfaction] had not been obtained.

Before closing my despatch, I believe it my duty to inform Your Excellency of the capture of M. Larkins, ex-Consul of the United States. He was taken in a farm nine leagues from here, by a party of Californians, on the fifteenth of November, the eve of the murderous engagement that the Americans had with the Californians. He was taken to the city of Los Angeles, where he is held as a hostage with several of his compatriots.

Permit me to deplore anew the absence of a French force in these parts. Our nationals and we ourselves are exposed to insults and affronts on the part of a violent and vulgar authority which respects neither rights nor proprieties. On the eve of the departure of the cutter *Brillante*, several reports came to us of the insurrection of the city of Los Angeles. I prevailed upon the Commander to remain, and I told him likewise that if I still had the management of the Consulate, I would address to him an official note on the subject. He replied, that he did not think that this movement could amount to much, that he had precise orders to go to Mazatlan where his presence had been judged useful, and that he was unable to infringe on them or to modify them on account of anything less than evident and absolute necessity. *Monsieur le Consul*⁶ moreover was under the spell of the good advice that he had received from M. Stockton; and was counting on living in perfect and continued understanding with the American authorities and had nothing to fear for his countrymen and much less for himself

6. J. A. Moerenhaut was now the official Consul of France at Monterey, having superseded Gasquet on October 3, 1846. (Document XXIX.)

from vexations and outrages. He was not of the opinion that the Commander should remain. He soon lamented the departure of the cutter. A few days later he was slighted and gravely insulted. *Sieur* Fremont, who has been made Lieutenant Colonel and Commander General of California, carried his impertinence to the point of writing to him to change his residence to San Francisco and he attached a passport to his letter. The Consul wished to protest against such a procedure; he addressed several lines to Fremont who sent back the letter without deigning to open it. Our nationals find themselves exposed to redoubled annoyances and persecutions. Among others, one Theophile Dague was, by the orders of the same Fremont, horribly scourged for a few imprudent words.

None of all that would have happened if the war-ship had stayed in the waters of Monterey. This, at least, is my conviction and now it is shared by M. Moerenhaut.

Your Excellency will pardon me the liberty that I am taking of writing directly to you, now that I am without official character and another has the duty to do it. It seemed to me that I might, without inconvenience, continue my communications as long as I remain in this country. I should be truly unhappy if Your Excellency should think otherwise.

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET

Former Acting Consul of France at Monterey.

XXXI

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Lettres extra-officielles." Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amérique, Primata. Received Aug. 12, 1847.)

Monterey, May 11, 1847.

Monsieur le Ministre:

Since the departure of the dispatch which I had the honor of sending to Your Excellency on the fourteenth of last January [probably Document XXX], conditions have greatly changed. The divisions which have done so much harm to this country have lately paralyzed all the means of defense. At Los Angeles, where the struggle had centered, victory would have crowned the efforts of the Californians despite the forces put in the field by Commodore Stockton, if they had been able to hold together. Unfortunately the spirit of jealousy and of insubordination which holds sway among the leaders, the distrust and hatred of the Mexicans [and] the stubborn local rivalries contributed to annul the authority of M. Flores, the Mexican lieutenant-colonel, whom they had chosen Commandant General, and to give to the Americans a scarcely disputed victory. Again the Californians laid down their arms following a treaty signed on the [blank] and surrendered.

Since then the country has remained tranquil and submissive in appearance. But going a little deeper into things, there is found a profound hatred, an insensible fermentation and unfriendly dispositions which only await a favorable opportunity to break out. Moreover, elements of discord and anarchy have already become noticeable in the ranks of the conquerors and may well aid in ruining their domination.

It does not enter into my intentions, Monsieur le Ministre, to transmit to you details which you will receive from another source [Moerenhaut]. I have the honor of writing to Your Excellency to inform you of the sad necessity in which I find myself of prolonging indefinitely my stay at Monterey for lack of vessels to take me to Mexico. The English schooner *Williams*, of forty-five tons, on which I was refused passage leaves tomorrow. It is the only vessel since the departure of the *Brillante* to go from here directly to the Mexican coast. Your Excellency may well believe that I am deeply affected by this refusal. My only hope now is for the arrival of a French war vessel; but my God! when will I be allowed to see one arrive?

I have the honor of being with the most profound respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET

Former Acting Consul

XXXII

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey, Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches."

Received January 5, 1848.)

San Jose del Cabo, [Lower California]

October 20, 1847

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor of informing Your Excellency of the sad position in which I find myself. Having left Monterey on the schooner *Santa Cruz* the twenty-eighth of last May, I arrived in this bay the seventh of the following June, thinking that from this point it would be easy for me to go promptly to the Mexican coast. But whether [on account of] the fear of the bad weather which was about to set in, or the fear of American ships, I have not yet been able to find a favorable opportunity to execute my project, and I do not know when one will present itself to me. Your Excellency will readily believe that I am in despair at this misfortune if you will realize that for almost two years I have had no news from my family or from the government, that my forced sojourn in this miserable town has drained my resources, that I have been obliged to have recourse to loans and that if my stay is prolonged, I look forward to the sad prospect of destitution. I shall add, Monsieur le Ministre, that the country has risen in part against American domination,¹ that armed bands very dangerous in their make-

1. Correspondence respecting American activities in Lower California during the War with Mexico may be found in *United States Documents* serial 537. See also Wise, Henry Augustus, *Los Gringos*, New York, 1849.

up, are menacing San Jose [del Cabo] and are capable of excesses; and that in the midst of the tumult that their presence will bring, the security of foreigners may be compromised.

I am taking advantage of the departure of a whaling launch for Mazatlan to acquaint you with the obstacle which retains me and the difficulties that I shall have to overcome; in order that Your Excellency may be convinced that what has happened to me is not at all my fault and [that] I have done all that was morally possible to leave Monterey and to arrive at Mexico and from there go to France.

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET

Former Acting Consul at Monterey.

XXXIII

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Informations Diverses." Direction du Commerce et du Contentieux. Ministerial notation, "Sent to Commerce with memoires of M. Moerenhaut, February 23, 1849.)

Paris, February 3, 1849

Monsieur le Ministre:

At the moment when the news from California excites public attention to the highest point and awakens so many desires and hopes of fortune; when our ports are fitting out many vessels for that country; I take the liberty of sending to you the copy of two documents of the custom-house at Monterey. If the government should judge it fitting to publish these documents, it would bring to the knowledge of our merchants a detailed list of the objects which in 1845 made up the cargo of an American ship en route for California, and might perhaps prevent many errors and miscalculations. It is true that, since that time, the population has greatly increased; that consumption must have followed the movement of the population; it is probable that the recent discovery of auriferous lands will precipitate masses of North Americans toward the privileged country which possesses them, but be the increase even ten to one, it would be prudent to prepare the projected shipments on a much restricted scale, to make them up of infinitely varied objects; to take little of our red wines for they have little chance of being sold. California produces wine which the inhabitants, poor judges as they are, prefer to ours. There is another drink that they prefer to wine—the brandy that they make from it. Rum, gin and Catalonian brandy are drunk there in the place of ordinary beverages. Foreigners and natives give themselves up to this depraved taste. Drunkenness is a common vice among all classes of society, from the Indian who serves and robs his master in order to procure brandy to the man in the highest rank. For their palates, burned by spirituous liquors, wines have

neither savor nor strength. Also, returning to my subject from which I have been diverted by this short digression, I say to the French merchants, do not send wines to California. This would be ruinous. Our brandies would sell there advantageously. A shipload of them could be sent there with little risk. That is all.

As for those of our compatriots who have painfully amassed a little money, sou by sou, and who are going to spend it in order to run in quest of this gold [which is] so plentiful that it is said to cost only the trouble of picking it up, they are, as men will ever be, like the dog of the fable who drops his prey to chase after the shadow. Fatigue, privation and perhaps misery await them there where they count on finding fabulous riches. May we keep them from it, if it is possible; may we lavish warnings upon them. But if the passion of enriching themselves makes them dull to the counsels of prudence, may they go to the end. In reality, who knows and who can foresee with certainty what is in store for them. If they have good courage, if they possess some trade or some profession, if they join to that the love and knowledge of preserving themselves from the contagion of drunkenness, California will offer them unforeseen resources, for it has immense ones which only await workers to bring them forth.

You will see by these few lines, M. le Ministre, that if I do not share the illusions of those who expect to find the Pactolian sands in California, no more do I share the too exaggerated fears which have arisen. There will be miscalculations, disappointments, who can doubt it. There will also be compensations. However, the government should by its direction seek to moderate the movement, to restrain the undertakings, but not to prevent them.

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET,

Ex-Chancellor and Acting Consul of France at Monterey.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

THE ROCKY-BAR MINING COMPANY

AN EPISODE IN EARLY WESTERN PROMOTION AND FINANCE

IT has frequently been stated that the earliest quartz mining in California was undertaken at Grass Valley in the year 1851. Bean, in his memorable *History and Directory of Nevada County*, published in 1867, fixes the date of the first quartz discovery in that neighborhood as sometime in June, 1850, and the place as Gold Hill near Grass Valley. "But," says he, "owing to a general ignorance of quartz veins, the discovery created little or no excitement among the miners, who were satisfied with their yields from the placer mines." In October, one McKnight discovered the rich Gold Hill Ledge, and soon many claims were taken up, each originally thirty by forty feet in size. The first mill was erected during the spring of 1851.

Near by was another elevated area known as Massachusetts Hill where another quartz vein was soon discovered, and on January 13, 1851, a miners' resolution was adopted governing the marking and recordation of locations at this point. Delano & Co. (need one mention *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings* and *Old Block?*) became extensively interested in this development, and Bean remarks that that organization "sold out in 1851 to Dr. J. C. Delavan, an agent of a New York company, known as the Rocky Bar."

Little interest would now attach to this transfer of a few Grass Valley quartz claims to "a New York company" were it not for the fact that that company had already had an interesting history, and were it not for the further fact that during the summer and fall of 1850 this same Delavan and others had been actively promoting the sale of the company's stock in New York for quartz-mining purposes on the *American River*. Whether or not quartz had actually there been discovered at that time, it remains that this was apparently the first organized project for mining quartz in the new *Eldorado*, antedating by several months the first actual quartz-mining operations at Grass Valley, and approximating in time the several scattered and unorganized quartz operations which were being carried on in a desultory fashion farther to the south.¹

The story of the "Rocky-Bar Mining Company" is therefore an important one. Recently there came to the writer's notice a small pamphlet of twelve printed pages, with a dark blue cover on which was printed in gold letters, "Rocky-Bar Mining Company, California. Circular, Articles of Association, Resolutions, Etc. 1850." This "Circular" is dated at New-York, November 4, 1850, and is signed by Philo D. Mickles, as President, and by Jas. Delavan, as Secretary. The

1. See Sir Henry Vere Huntly's report on quartz operations in the southern mines, reprinted in the Appendix to this article. Bancroft (*History of California*, Vol. VI, pp. 414-17) states that the first quartz vein was discovered in Mariposa in 1849 and that the first mill was planted at Grass Valley in 1850. With respect to the Grass Valley matter, Bean is probably more accurate and must be accepted as authority. That there were numerous quartz discoveries in the southern mining region during 1850 seems certain. In a note (p. 415) Bancroft cites numerous newspaper and other accounts of such discoveries and of projects to recover quartz gold, but it is evident that he had not seen the Rocky Bar Mining Company "Circular." Carl Meyer, in his *Nach dem Sacramento*, printed at Aarau, Germany, 1855, speaks of quartz discoveries in the southern mines during the very early period. Eldredge (*History of California*, Vol. III, p. 352) says, "Experiments at quartz mining were begun as early as 1850, though without much success. The earliest were made at or near Grass Valley." He cites no actual instances.

unique character of this little pamphlet, not only as tangible evidence of what appears to have been the first organized California quartz-mining project, but also as the earliest specimen known to the writer of California mine promotion of any character in "The States," renders it worthy of note. There were earlier "stock companies" formed in the eastern states, in Hawaii and in Europe for the digging of California gold, but no earlier instance has been discovered of such a company emerging from the Pacific Coast and attempting to market its stock in the East on the basis of actual mining property held in California.

The "Rocky Bar" here in question was a small placer in the gorge of the Middle Fork of the American River, high in the Sierra east of Georgetown. It was near two other early placers known as Oxbow and Big Bars, and appears on the Trask Map of California of 1853, but is not shown on the Trask Map of the Mineral Regions which was published later in the same year. Nor does it appear on later maps of the region. A perusal of the company's "Circular" would lead one to believe that this small "bar" was in 1850 the center and perhaps the most important of the California gold discoveries, but as the sequel disclosed, these promoters were sadly mistaken, for Rocky Bar soon went the way of all mining camps. Were it not for this little pamphlet and the name of the company itself, this short-lived placer would long since have been erased from human memory.

Sometime early in 1850 (we have at hand no means of ascertaining the exact date) this same Dr. Delavan had published anonymously one of the most entertaining books which had yet appeared on the subject of the California gold diggings.² Whether the author thought up his mining company after he wrote his book, or whether the book was in fact but a part of a carefully executed program of advertising cannot now be determined. In any event his remarks anent "Big" and "Rocky" Bars are of much interest, and were well calculated to rouse the expectations and cupidity of prospective "investors" in this mining venture. The Doctor works up to his main point with admirable circumspection, interspersing his remarks with many a well-told anecdote. On his first trip to the diggings he climbed high into the rugged region above Coloma. Let him speak for himself (pp. 62-63):

We had gained the "Big Bar," and were now in a state of security from wild beasts, quadruped and biped. The horses were cast loose to shift for themselves, without apprehensions that they would get astray, being enclosed by a wall two miles high. And while I was getting my things in order for the next day's operations, my friend went out among the diggers, to make inquiry as to the probable success of his commercial adventure. He returned in high spirits, having, by peeping into the washers of the miners, discovered large lumps and heaps of the glittering metal, which gave assurance of the richness of the deposits.

I spent the rest of the day, after arranging my affairs, in making inquiries about the bar, questioning those who were conversible, and peeping into the rockers and pans of the surly and unsociable. My experience enabled me to judge by the eye with some degree of accuracy, the profits of their labor, and I found the yield truly astonishing. Some would have several ounces of pure bright lumps, the product of half a day's work; and there were none who were not doing, in the mercantile phrase, "a fair business."

After a description of the miners, and especially of certain "Oregonians" whom he found most reticent respecting the success of their efforts, he continues (p. 66):

2. *Notes on California and the Placers: How to get there and what to do afterwards.* By one who has been there. New York, H. Long & Brother, 43 Ann Street, 1850, pp. 128, 2 plates, 8vo. copyrighted by James Delavan, "proprietor."

The right of positive possession, as we have before stated, is held sacred; and so far has the justice or good sense of the miners extended the pandects of Judge Lynch, that *equitable* possession is equally respected. Thus, if certain numbers combine their labors to effect turning the course of the river, and consequently draining a portion of the Bar, they select a proper spot for the purpose, not previously occupied, and when their intentions are made known, and the improvement staked out, no person intrudes upon the ground located, during the process of draining, or after it is perfected. The adventurers, therefore, hold their rights as securely as if they were protected by a *charter* from the Government.

Many have been these combinations, and all have reaped rich rewards for their enterprise and industry, in whatever location they have been undertaken; and in no part of the world would a joint-stock company be surer of greater profits upon their investments than upon the gold streams of California.

The Doctor was warming rapidly to his subject!

He left the region for a time, but returned in due season to report the many changes which had taken place upon the Bar. Says he (pp. 86-87):

Much improvement had been made in every respect in the process of obtaining gold, during my absence from the Bar. A company of twenty had been formed, who had constructed a bracket-dam at the head of the Bar, by which a small part had been drained; and this had been worked to enormous profit, yielding three or four ounces a day to each of pure gold in coarse grains. Such was the success of an association of limited means, and operating against many disadvantages.

The good fortune of this company induced other adventurers to imitate them, and forty of them organized themselves, choosing an old Californian miner as president, with a treasurer and secretary of experience, and four directors. This company had begun their work systematically, and a splendid race cut through the Rocky Bar opposite the Big Bar, had been partly completed, fourteen feet wide, of sufficient depth to carry off the water, and which would be about two hundred and thirty yards long. The whole structure would be a creditable specimen of workmanship in any country. A dam of adequate length, compact and tight, diverts the water from the bed of the river, leaving it free to the operations of the miners. The descent of the race is about eleven feet, furnishing an excellent water power, which some ingenious Yankee will contrive to use to advantage in mining operations.

Immense rocks required to be removed by main force, and much blasting had been done, the tools for which were forged on the spot. A hand bellows had been employed to keep in flame a quantity of bark, the succedaneum for coal; and the head of an old axe driven into a stump was used as an anvil. By this important movement, a small portion of the bar, and the bed of the river adjacent to it, had been uncovered, and the labor of several years could hardly suffice to exhaust the metal it contained. The expense of this undertaking will probably exceed fifty thousand dollars; but as with only a third of the company employed, they were collecting about fifty pounds a week, the investment could not fail to produce a splendid fortune to each of the stockholders.

The amount already realized, and that in prospect, from the enterprise of these individuals laboring under so many difficulties, affords the most convincing proof that a joint stock association, properly organized and judiciously managed, would make heavy dividends of profits to those who might engage in it.

The worthy Doctor was evidently whetting his readers' curiosity and rousing their desire to the utmost. They were now ready for the final touch—the joint stock company itself—and Doctor Delavan was an able promoter. Indeed, as an example of the stock-jobber's art the Rocky Bar Mining Company's "Circular" is superb. It is the direct precursor of modern "promotion literature," and with but few changes would quite appropriately serve some enterprising present-day super-salesman's campaign. In many respects the book is closely followed. Thus, at the very outset, it is stated that the company was organized in July, 1849, "as a *Labor Association*," by forty miners who had worked during 1848 and 1849 on Big Bar, "near the geographical center of the gold region in California"; that the original program was a dam and race-way to divert the river from its beds, and that "public" notices were duly posted, and "all the requisitions of the *Lynch Code*, or miners' law, were complied with" (whatever this might signify). The

quartz in the company's possession was declared to be "not only rich, but literally inexhaustible," with the result that the operations "cannot but be permanent, or at least continue so long as gold be of sufficient value to render the pursuit of it anything of an object"! Of the locale of operations it was remarked that "the Rocky and the Big Bars are considered by the old miners as the richest, or to say the least, among the very richest portions of the gold region in California."

Though fuel was admittedly scarce, the water-power at the mine was estimated to be worth in itself more than the \$1,000,000 represented by the capital stock which was to be issued. And as for GOLD:

... In no part of the globe has nature been so prolific in her supply of the precious metal. The innumerable and enormous masses of the pure gold, as well as those of gold and quartz combined, which, it may be said, have been and are *daily* being found in this region, establish the fact conclusively, that there is more gold in this foot-range of the Sierra Nevadas, than in all the world beside. When these extensive veins of quartz from which all the gold yet obtained was originally derived, shall be penetrated, who can tell what may not be discovered?

Certain persons, it seems, had come to entertain ideas about the company's prospects which were "chimerical and visionary," and which the Directors "would not even *desire* to be realized." These over-enthusiastic people said ("and *believe*") that one hundred tons of quartz could be crushed each day, "and that it will yield \$4.00 per pound," with a resultant clear annual profit of "*two hundred and forty millions of dollars*, a sum sufficient to revolutionize the commercial relations of the world."

These "estimates" were a bit too much even for the Doctor and his companions. They therefore put forward a "moderate calculation" which he felt might "with confidence be relied upon," as follows:

Quartz crushed per day, 40 tons, is.....	80,000 lbs.
Product of gold per lb., 20 cts.,.....	20
Yield per day,	\$16,000
Multiplied by the days in the year.....	300
	\$4,800,000

On this basis, and allowing \$800,000 "for all manner of expenses, including taxes or duties to the government," there was indicated "a net profit to shareholders of 400 per cent. per annum, or about 33 per cent. per month."

The Directors' remarks anent the company's title to this tremendous source of wealth are worthy of note. Said they:

It remains to add a remark as to the title. This is as perfect as it can be under the present state of things, or until the government shall confirm it. It is possessory only, but cannot be disturbed or disputed, except by the government. In a word it is perfect, as regards all other parties. The general government desires improvements to be made, and the resources of the mines to be developed; and when it shall take any action in the premises, this company will have to comply with the terms which may be imposed, and their title will be absolute.

This great prospect was not to be allowed to get into the hands of a few selfish souls. Not by any means! The company's stock must be distributed in all directions, to which end the following rules were provided:

- 1st. No individual allowed to purchase more than 100 shares.
- 2d. The price to be \$100 per share, invariably.
- 3d. Payments to be made in money bankable in the City of New-York.
- 4th. And as far as it will be possible to control the matter, the stock will be fairly distributed among citizens of the *east* and *west*, the *north* and *south*.

As the stock will rapidly advance above par, so soon as that which is authorized by the Secretary to be sold, shall be taken, and it being no object of the Company to encourage speculation therein, it is recommended to persons remote from the city who may incline to purchase, that they send in their orders at an early day, through their correspondents in the city. Planters and others at the south, who are at a distance from commercial towns, are advised to authorize their factors on the sea-board to order such limited number of shares as they may desire, in the manner above stated.

One can hardly resist the picture of throngs of anxious "planters" rushing cash to "their factors on the seaboard" in the faint hope of being assigned some of the precious shares.

In conclusion, [said the doughty promoters] we have only to say, that there is even less hazard in purchasing the new than there was in taking the old stock [of the original group on the spot], and that the foregoing remarks are published with no intention or desire of raising expectations, which may not be even more than realized.

The importance of this "Circular" is such that we reproduce it in full as it originally appeared. Chimerical though their dreams may have been, the scheme thus outlined was pushed with considerable energy by its promoters, and some stock appears to have been sold. Seven months after the publication of the "Circular" the Board of Directors issued a "Report" dating it at the office of the company, 20 Merchants' Exchange, Hanover Street, New York City, June 4, 1851. A copy of this report is to be found in the Huntington Library. In it the "Circular" is extensively quoted, and the directors state that "it affords us much satisfaction, to add that all the accounts received since that time tend, in the fullest manner, to corroborate the views therein expressed."

It appears that on February 5, 1851, at the stockholders' annual meeting, the Directors had issued a report recounting the great yields of certain mines in Mexico and other localities, and stating that "every recent discovery, both in the Southern and Northern mines [of California], more than sustains us [in the estimate of a yield of twenty cents to the pound of quartz], and it is with increased confidence that we anticipate that result." The Directors added:

An inspection of the machinery now completed, by competent judges, confirms the opinion that we shall be enabled to crush at least forty tons per day. The conclusion seems therefore almost irresistible, that our anticipations will be fully realized,—viz:—forty tons would be 80,000 pounds, at twenty cents, produces \$16,000 per day, or \$4,800,000 per annum; allowing \$800,000 for costs and charges, and we have 400 per cent. to divide among the stock-holders. Yet, should our estimate be reduced even to one-quarter of that amount, (a result which we by no means suppose probable) the profits would far exceed any other enterprise in which capital could be invested with an equal degree of security.

On December 5, 1850, a cash dividend of 100 per cent. had been paid to the holders of the original scrip (*i. e.* on \$40,000 and not on the new stated capital of \$1,000,000), and this although, as the Report states, "the same was produced from the operations of a short season of mining, without the aid of machinery, on which the reliance of the Company for large profits is based."

The "large and improved Chilian Mill and Stampers, together with wheelbarrows and various tools" were shipped around the Horn on March 10, 1851, on "the new clipper ship" *Ino*, Doctor Delavan proceeding to California via Chagres in June to supervise its erection. The Directors remarked:

The possessions of this Company were obtained at an early period in the history of mining in California, and although not the first to erect machinery for crushing the quartz, they may justly be regarded as among the first who have perfected their organization for that purpose.

The convenience of access to the mine, its abundance of quartz, and its extensive water power, taken together, place the success of the Company beyond a question. Energy and vigor in the prosecution, and judgment and skill in the management of their business, are alone necessary to secure an immense income.

Sales of stock, however, had not prospered to the extent hoped for, said the reporting officials. The company as yet possessed no corporate charter, and prospective investors therefore feared (with some reason) that the members might be held individually liable for company debts. There was, moreover, considerable apprehension on the part of investors that the money obtained from stock sales might not be used for the advertised purposes. To remedy these matters, said the Directors, an application to the New York Legislature for an Act incorporating the company was about to be made, and the Board had, by formal resolution, appropriated all of "the avails of the sale of these 2300 shares" to the erection of machinery and bringing in of water power at the mine. The superintendent at Rocky Bar, one John H. Hancock, reported that he had ground some quartz by hand in a mortar and could wash "from three to eight dollars a day" out of any of the rock he had thus tried. He did not state the amount of quartz necessary to produce this sum, nor does an assay appear to have been made of any of the material.

This second pamphlet is of peculiar interest because in it is reprinted the report of Sir Henry Vere Huntly, Superintendent of the "Anglo-California Gold Mining and Dredging Company" to the directors of that organization in England. Sir Henry's report deals with an inspection of quartz-bearing ledges "from the heads of the Stanislaus to those of the Tuolumne, Mercedes, and Mariposa." It is dated at London, November 24, 1850, and is of importance as another very early exposition of quartz-mining proposals in California. It is reprinted in full in the Appendix.

The Rocky Bar Company's Report for 1851 closes with the remark that "it is contemplated that the machinery will be in operation by November, at the farthest, and perhaps much sooner, and it is presumed that this event will add many hundred per cent. to the value of the stock. At any rate, none will after that time be sold by the Company."

It is probable that none was so sold, for these promoters were on the wrong track for fair. How completely their high hopes were disappointed was disclosed by the 1852 report, which, together with that for 1853, is contained in a fifteen-page pamphlet headed "Rocky-Bar Mining Company, Report of Directors, 1853," also in the possession of the Huntington Library. It seems that on his arrival in California, Doctor Delavan proceeded at once to Rocky Bar to ascertain the feasibility of transporting the machinery to the mine and its erection thereat. Here his difficulties began. It has been noted that the 1851 Report remarked on "the convenience of access to the mine," but the Doctor soon discovered the error of this representation. Indeed, it was now reported that:

... Finding at that early period that considerable obstacles existed in carrying out the intentions of the Board in reference to immediately undertaking the works at Rocky Bar, in consequence of the difficulty of access and the cost of transporting heavy machinery through a new country, a portion of it without any wagon roads, he thought it best for the interests of the Company to examine some other portions of the mineral region where good leads of quartz were known to exist, and which would be more easy of access.

Thus it was that Doctor Delavan ventured to the Grass Valley section, and thus it was that the "Rocky Bar Mining Company" found its scene of operations transported from its original "discovery claims" on the American River to Massachusetts Hill, where, as has already been mentioned, Doctor Delavan purchased a number of claims. Then and there he proceeded to set up the machinery which had by this time arrived from New York, together with a steam engine which he bought at a high price in San Francisco to take the place of the water power which had been thought so valuable at the American River site. The boiler was found to be too small, however, and when the "Chili Mill" was in operation the stamps had to remain quiet, and vice versa, while the worthy Doctor's tunnel proved to be a complete failure when it encountered harder rock than had been anticipated. Difficulty followed difficulty, and in December, 1852, Mr. William Whitney arrived to replace the Doctor. He seems to have found a golden lining to the clouds that hung over the enterprise, for the Report for that year concludes with the optimistic remark that, while many delays had occurred, "The mines still retain their original and almost entire richness, instead of having been drawn upon to pay large expenses."

Alas for the hopes of those who in 1850 and 1851 had painted so bright a picture! On February 15, 1853, S. B. Woolworth, Secretary of the Company, published a notice that an assessment of five per cent. upon the Capital Stock had been levied, payable on or before March 15 to the treasurer, George S. Fitch, Esq., at the company's New York office. Non-payment, it was declared, would result in forfeiture of stock and all previous payments thereon. A reorganization of the company was undertaken during this year, and the report for 1853 is noticeably less optimistic than were those of former years. The nature and vicissitudes of mining in California had now become much more clearly recognized. Said the Directors:

"Our experience as a Company enables us to speak practically on mining for gold in California. As original miners in the bed of the American River in 1849, we suffered the hardships (many of our members dying from sickness,) and reaped the rewards (dividing 100 per cent. on our then capital of \$40,000) of that avocation. Being the owners of a most valuable quartz lead, we changed our original organization, and formed a Joint Stock Company, with a stock capital based upon the immense value which we, in common with all the miners of California in the immediate vicinity of the leads, conceived to exist in the gold-bearing veins. It might be from want of scientific and practical knowledge on their part, being mostly adventurers without any previous experience in mining operations below the surface, but, stimulated by having discovered the source or matrix of all the gold in the country, they certainly conceived the idea that they had at last found the goose with the golden eggs.

... We have presented you before with statements based upon our hopes and expectations and such facts as we then believed to exist. We have now to present to you how far they have been realized.

The passage of three long years with no material recompense in the way of golden eggs had indeed had a sobering effect, for the Directors continued:

We will not deceive our stockholders and the public by making statements we cannot substantiate.

That the average product of quartz rock in Grass Valley will yield \$100, \$70, \$50, or even \$30 per ton, taking all the leads together, we do not believe. [Quite different from the earlier estimate of 20 cents per pound, or \$400 per ton at Rocky Bar!]

... Mining is essentially an adventure, and for that very reason presents attractions to some parties as an investment not felt in good 6 or even 7 per cent. solid securities. We may strike a pocket or a very rich lead on our vein, but we are content to adopt the view of the case as presented, and wish so far as we are able to avoid exaggeration.

Our machinery has not had a fair trial as yet, . . . but we have no expectation that we can crush 40 tons, as estimated by parties in New York who constructed it. [The Board now estimated 12 tons per day as its capacity.]

A profit had been obtained, however, from the irregular operation which had been possible, and this was conceived as fully justifying a continuance of the project "to what we hope and believe will be a most successful issue." The Board added that its concern was "no ephemeral affair, a mere stock speculation," and in conclusion it was stated that the company felt

entitled to the protection of the law as regards our property, and to the cheering word of encouragement from those who feel desirous to promote, what must eventually become the great interest of California, and on which her prosperity as a state, and so much of that prosperity now existing in the older portions of our Union, so materially depends.

Of the sequel little remains to be said. Mr. Whitney, later declared by Bean to have been "totally inexperienced in milling and mining matters," was succeeded by a Mr. Leyton, under whom considerable gold was taken out, but whose extravagance (personal and otherwise) precluded any return to the stockholders. In 1856 one Michael Brennan came out from New York to be Superintendent, and the name of the concern was changed to the Mount Hope Company. Alas for these hopes! Brennan it was who contributed the most celebrated tragedy to the history of Grass Valley, when, on February 21, 1858, despairing of success, he murdered his wife and three children and killed himself. But that is another story! He had mortgaged the mine to the well-known French capitalist, Andre Chavanne, to secure large borrowings, and two months before his death the creditors had taken possession. A suit was brought against Chavanne by our old friends of the New York Company for possession of the mine and mill, but in June, 1863, after long and bitter litigation, Chavanne prevailed. Nine months later the lessees of the mine struck rich ore but a few feet from the spot where, as Bean puts it, "Brennan had hopelessly abandoned work." At the time of the publication of Bean's Directory in 1867, A. B. Brady was Superintendent of the mine, which was then owned by the Chavanne Brothers of Paris, and by Hentch and Berton, Abel Guy, John B. Felton and certain other persons of San Francisco. These owners had worked the mine until 1866 when the ground was considered worked out. A few years later it appears to have been reopened, and in 1880 it was reported that:

the ledge varied in size, pitch and quality of quartz, yielding enormously at times, and again not paying the expenses of extracting the ore. The ledge was worked to a perpendicular depth of 275 feet, and over two miles of tunnels were run. During the last three years, on an average, one thousand tons were taken out monthly, and the daily expenses were one thousand dollars. The gross yield of the mine was over \$3,000,000." (Thompson & West, *History of Nevada County*, p. 193.)

Thus endeth the tale of the Rocky Bar quartz mining scheme. The story is that of most mining promotions and in itself possesses no particular interest. Its import lies in the fact that this organization was among the first (perhaps the very first) after the gold discoveries to attempt direct stock sales in the eastern states in connection with California mining properties and in the further fact that this company's "Circular" is an extremely early (again perhaps the very first) published exposition in "the States" of the possibilities of quartz mining in the

California gold region. For its picture of social conditions and of corporate and financial operations during the cradle period of California mining this "Circular" appears worthy of rescue from the ephemeral pages on which it has been preserved these many years.

CARL I. WHEAT.

APPENDIX

REPORT OF SIR HENRY VERE HUNTLY

DATED NOVEMBER 24, 1850

TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE ANGLO-CALIFORNIAN GOLD MINING AND DREDGING COMPANY.
Gentlemen:—

It is, I apprehend, needless to repeat anything that I have stated, for the information of the Board, in my several despatches. I have, in these despatches, reported upon all matters up to the 3d of September last; and I now proceed to state the results of the tour, which, after that day, I made to the quartz-bearing localities of the first range of the Sierra Nevada, from the heads of the Stanislaus to those of the Tuolumne, Mercedes, and Mariposa.

Throughout this journey I digressed from the main track whenever, from appearances, it seemed that any beneficial information relating to the quartz could be thereby obtained; for, it must be observed, the veins of this rock are extremely frequent and easily detected, being found "cropping out" of the mountains, following the inclination of them, crossing the ravine or valley, (which is, in general, very narrow,) and then running up the opposite mountain to various elevations.

From the information I have obtained, there is, I believe, scarcely one of these veins of quartz in this district that does not produce gold, more or less. This statement stands to a great extent, confirmed by the fact of my having, in many instances, taken small portions of the rock away, and afterwards pounded them up myself with a pestle and mortar, when I obtained (with few exceptions) gold varying in value from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter to every four pounds of rock, although the rock thus reduced to powder could not be considered at all a fair specimen of its real average value, having been obtained from that part of the vein which lay but a short distance from the surface, and having undergone considerable decomposition from the action of the dampness of the earth upon the iron contained in the quartz. In such cases the stone is always found in a honey-combed state, the minute particles of gold having apparently escaped from these recesses, owing to the corrosion of the metallic substances originally retaining them; hence, probably, the formation of the rich "placers" below, where both the gold so detached, and the surface soil, are together deposited by the heavy rains of the winter; an operation that probably has been in progress for centuries.

I think it of importance to state, that in some of these digressions I found Mexicans in the mountains actually beating up the quartz with a common metal pestle and mortar, who stated that it was a method that well repaid their labor; this practice is, however, quite new amongst the Mexicans, and has probably arisen out of the hostile conduct of the Americans towards them in the "diggings." I mention this fact, as it furnishes an additional corroboration of my statement relative to gold being so generally found in the quartz veins "cropping" from the mountains.

While upon this part of my Report, I may observe that in Virginia, (United States.) a mine is worked if it will return eighteen cents, or ninepence to the *one hundred pounds* of rock but in California the rock must return four cents, or twopence to the *one pound* of rock, before it can be worked with a remunerative result; it will be seen by referring to the previous part of this Report, that the quartz of this region can be most advantageously worked, since, as before stated, by the simple process applied to it by myself, it yielded to the four pounds of rock never less than one dollar, and more than a dollar and a quarter in several instances.

Having thus briefly shown the general character of the quartz of this district, I shall, before I pass on to the mines actually opened upon the Mariposa, and its vicinity, repeat that the frequency of the quartz veins are most remarkable, and wherever they abound, the accompanying "arroyas", or narrow valleys, are almost uniformly found to yield a good remuneration to the "digger." Competent judges of the subject assure me, that a man, capable of bearing the immense labor of the "diggings," would, one day with another, be certain to

obtain from five to eight dollars, in the worst of the ground; a fact which, combined with the previous statements, sufficiently proves the vast prevalence of gold in the quartz rock from the earliest periods; and, when this is connected with the certainty of no gold being present in any part of the vast plains spread out between the several mountain ranges, it conclusively points to the quartz rock as the source from which vast riches may be obtained.

With these preliminary observations I shall proceed to state, that continuing my journey, I arrived at the mine of the Mariposa Company, on the Mariposa River, and the following statement shows the extent to which it has been opened:

I may observe, that the exact position of this mine is about 400 yards north of the Mariposa River, and from the town of that name. The vein runs nearly parallel with the river, or a few points to the east of north.

It has been opened downwards, to the depth of twenty-five feet, for a distance of 215 feet, and upwards, and the vein tested that entire distance. Its average thickness is from six to nine feet, though in many places over twelve feet; and it is a very moderate calculation to say that upwards of 45,000 feet (cubic) are in sight. From experiments made with a Chilean mill, by horse-power, the first 1000 lbs. of average ore yielded 210 dollars; 500 lbs. of another lot, 125 dollars. From many other trials it has been from twenty-five to twenty-eight cents per pound, though much of the ore will yield double or treble that amount. Some assays, accurately made by assayists at San Francisco, have yielded from eighty to 120 cents per pound. Three or four bushels of rich ore, taken out the last few days before I left the mine, would yield from 1200 dollars to 5000 dollars the 100 lbs.; this, however, was exceedingly rich, and from a pocket in one of the lobes of the vein. The superintendents have every expectation of meeting many such in going downwards in the vein.

The steam engine, and stamping and amalgamating mills, with twelve sets of stamps, are up, and started in operation on the 16th of September. Other machinery is on the spot, and will be erected as soon as possible, so as to expedite the operations. The present expense of working the mine is, as I have stated elsewhere, about 200 dollars per day; but as soon as the Company is ready to work day and night, the expenses will be increased to 250 dollars for twenty four hours' work.

It is supposed that about twenty tons of ore will be reduced in twenty-four hours, or 400 miner's bushels, which, at the rate of the poorest ore, will make a very large sum per week.

The approach to the mine from the seaboard is very good, by vessels and steamers to Stockton; thence ninety miles over a good wagon road, or four days travel with loaded teams.

The company are projecting works for large future operations, by driving an adit from a ravine distance 160 feet to cut the vein 100 feet below the surface, also, a shaft, both of which would be through in four weeks from the time I left the country. This will give the company the command of a large supply of ore for a length of time, and by means of a railway track (350 yards) from the mouth of the adit to the mills the ore will be supplied at a comparative small outlay.

The mills are very eligibly situate on account of wood and water, and an abundant supply of fuel being within 200 or 300 yards of the mills.

I arrived at the Mariposa Mine early in September. At that time the superintendents had got in position the machinery for stamping the quartz, and were then placing the steam engine for putting the whole in action; the machinery was extremely well finished, and comprised the stampers, the troughs, and bowls for conducting and receiving the stamped quartz; together with a washing table, in which the gold was taken from the stamped quartz by amalgamating it with quicksilver; a pump also supplied both the stampers and tables with water, the whole machinery being moved by the steam-engine. Upon the 16th of September this engine commenced a trial operation upon some refuse quartz of the mine in which there was no visible appearance of gold; from this 120 dollars worth of gold to the ton of rock was produced. This would, of itself, make a highly remunerative return, but it is not at all equal to the amount which will be produced from the same rock, when that of the first quality is crushed. The character of the mine is of an extremely rich description, the quartz rock being for a large space of the exposed face thickly covered with small particles of gold, which may be traced in the interior of the stone when split into pieces; the remainder of the exposed portion of the mine, is of a very promising appearance, and will, there is little doubt, produce about 200 dollars (£40) to the 100 pounds of stone. I shall not give my opinion respecting the produce of the richest rock of this mine, *but leave it to be told by the attested statements of its value, which are to be sent me by the next steamer from Chagres.* Although these statements may tend to create much surprise (if they at all agree with my own opinion) yet I think that surprise will subside, when the specimens of the quartz have been seen. These specimens, the proprietors of the mine made me a present of, and the box containing them I brought with me as far as Panama, where I left it, being unable to bring it on, owing to the rapid manner in which I was obliged to cross the Isthmus, in order to catch the English steamer; it will, however arrive in the steamer now on her passage from Chagres.

Of the richness of this mine there can be no question whatever, nor can there be any doubt of large remuneration attending the outlay proposed by the Mariposa Company for the privilege of obtaining a certain interest in its mine. At the present moment the expenses of working the mine do not exceed 200 dollars (£40) a day; and the steam machinery is stamping up from ten to twelve tons of rock every day, producing certainly as much as previously stated. The fuel for working the steam engine is supplied by the neighboring oak trees, which are felled for the purpose, and which, until many steam-engines are erected here, will afford an ample supply.

While at this mine (where I received from Messrs. Jackson and Walker, the superintendents, the most unlimited kindness, which I very gratefully acknowledge.) I saw the rock blasted in several places, and each time the same rich appearances were exposed to view. I was frequently requested by these gentlemen to take such specimens as I might think proper to select—a privilege of which I did not avail myself, in consideration of the present (the specimens before referred to) which I had already accepted from the company. I, however, have one specimen which I picked up after a blast, and which is curious, as exhibiting the immense richness of this quartz.

During this visit I was invited to see the mine of Messrs. Stockton and Aspinwall, on the other side of the mountain in which that of the Mariposa Company is situated. It was not in so forward a state of operation as the Mariposa mine; but a steam engine and stampers were then on their way up from Stockton, and probably by this time the machinery is at work. The quartz of this mine did not present so rich an appearance in any part (so far as it had been worked) as I have described, to distinguish one part of the Mariposa Mine; but what is, I believe, always considered a valuable indication in a gold mine, the metal seemed much more generally diffused in the quartz, and it amply maintains the character of the quartz of this region.

From this mine I rode to another, which had been opened by a party of five young Englishmen and one American. This mine is situated about seven miles from that of the Mariposa; it is called the "Agua Fria Mine" from the circumstance of a stream of water gushing from a mountain side, which is so placed and sheltered as never to feel the heat of the sun, consequently the water is unusually cold as it springs from the rock. This mine was not opened in length above fifteen feet, and in depth about four; it bears every indication of very great richness. The proprietors had arrived at stone sprinkled with gold very generally disseminated over it, and both the oxide and sulphate of iron were very prominent throughout—two indications considered very favorable by the miner. The stone from this mine (showing no gold upon it) produced, when pounded up, as rich a return as the others to which I have alluded, viz. something more than one dollar to the four pounds of stone. It is, I believe, generally considered, that gold mines fail by being worked as they become deeper, and that the chief of the gold lies upon the surface. The mines of California have not, it is true, been opened to any considerable depth; but as yet they have certainly increased in richness as the works have descended.

The Agua Fria Mine was opened on the summit of a small mount, perhaps not more than 150 feet in elevation above the small plain below; the hills surrounding which displayed more or less of quartz, and the plain itself, comprising perhaps 100 acres had been successfully dug nearly throughout by the people of every nation.

Having visited this mine, I proceeded, in company with Mr. Professor Sheppard, a geologist of the United States, to examine some quartz veins upon property claimed—and I believe most legally claimed—by Colonel Fremont, having permission from Mr. Buckler, (one of the agents of Colonel Fremont,) to select any portion not exceeding 300 feet square, that I might think proper, and of which Mr. Buckler engaged I should have the lease, provided it was not already selected or reserved by Colonel Fremont. After occupying myself in this part for three days, I decided upon a vein about half a mile from the Stockton and Aspinwall mine. Of the character of the quartz upon the spot selected by me, Professor Sheppard thought highly. I was more especially induced to examine this mine, because if its indications were favorable (as they indisputably are,) and a lease of the ground should be obtained, the stampers might be put in motion by means of a spring of water, which does not fail in the summer, and is sufficiently powerful, with a trifling arrangement, to form a continual water-power. Upon the advantage of such a power it is needless for me to dwell.

Mr. Buckler, with whom I could only communicate upon the subject on my return to San Francisco, thought that, as Colonel Fremont was daily expected, it would be better to wait for the completion of a lease until his arrival; but he promised that he would then lose no time in giving me every information respecting the locality. Mr. Buckler, however, distinctly agreed to allow me the choice of any disengaged portion of the ground claimed by Colonel Fremont, should that particular spot be occupied.

It may now perhaps be desirable that I should mention the terms upon which these several mines or portions of them may be obtained.

The Mariposa mine is undoubtedly the first to be mentioned. The privileges of sharing

in this mine would involve an outlay at once from £25,000 to £100,000, according to the quantity of interest purchased in the mine. In considering the question of this purchase, it must be remembered that the machinery is already in operation; that there are already most satisfactory PROOFS of a remunerative produce; and that there are the strongest indications of a very rich return in future.

The "Agua Fria Mine" from its indications, would fully justify the purchase of it; but it must be borne in mind, that it would be necessary to purchase and erect all the machinery required for working it. This nevertheless could be done at an expense far below that attending the purchase of an interest in the Mariposa Mine, especially if, instead of steam, the stampers were put in motion by mule power, a practice which prevails to this hour in many of the Mexican mines. With reference to the mines proposed to be leased under Colonel Fremont, that would be the least expensive method of proceeding, provided the character of the particular vein was known to be good; otherwise an expenditure of a considerable sum would be necessary for the purpose of searching for a good vein. It would, however, not be difficult to find such a one. In this case of course all the machinery would have to be sent out, and put up, which in fact would be the source of the expense.

With reference to the monetary affairs of the Company in San Francisco, I have only to observe that the money with which you have supplied me has met every claim against you there; and a surplus has been left by me in the hands of the gentleman, Mr. Marriott, to whom I have during my absence confided the conduct of your affairs. As per account delivered, it will be found that all expenses have been fully defrayed, even including the wages (due at the time of my departure) to the miners sent out by you.

I may conclude this exposition of my opinions and observations, upon the quartz of this region of California, by saying that I feel perfectly satisfied of the certainty of repaying a very large remuneration by engaging in the work of mining here. I conceive the remuneration will be as early as it will be extensive. The return in either of the undertakings to which I have here referred, would be a question of a few months only; and I see no reason whatever to hesitate in vigorously commencing the enterprise. California is now admitted to the rank of a state by the Government of the United States, under the laws of which government both life and rights of property will be fully protected, and the right also of the foreigner to rent under the citizen is recognized; all which circumstances, connected with my opinion of the quartz, convince me that the enterprise of mining may at once be safely, and vastly remuneratively undertaken by your Company.

I have brought with me ample legal powers for enabling Messrs. Rothschild, on the part of the Mariposa Company, and myself, on behalf of this Company, to conclude the negotiation relative to the purchase of an interest in the Mariposa mine upon the terms before stated.

In order to remove, as much as may be, any impression as to the insecurity of life amongst the mountain population, I may observe, that I was travelling six weeks amongst the wildest part of California, I met incessantly the people of all nations, I never experienced any rudeness or unkindness. I found them always ready to give me any information they possessed, upon every occasion when I requested any. I frequently slept beneath a tree, or amongst loose hay, and neither I nor my companion ever carried about us a weapon of any description whatever, nor during my stay was there throughout this region, occupied, I may say, by thousands of very necessitous men of all nations, but one murder.

Prior to my departure from San Francisco, the second Expedition of miners had arrived; and I have the satisfaction of stating, that both expeditions are employed at the Mariposa mine, all parties being well pleased with the arrangement made for them until my return to California.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours most obediently,

H. V. HUNTLY,

CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT.¹

London, 24th November, 1850.

1. In 1856 a two volume work was published anonymously in London, entitled "California: Its Gold and Its Inhabitants, By the Author of 'Seven Years on the Slave Coast of Africa', 'Peregrine Scramble', &c.'" It is said to be from the pen of Sir Henry Vere Huntley (sic), and is a rambling affair, taken from his journal and scrap-book of 1852, when he was at work for an English company at "Dicksburgh," near Hansonville, above Marysville. The generally "uncivilized" ways of the Americans with whom he came in contact greatly impressed Sir Henry, who missed no opportunity to comment on the actions of these "republicans".

ROCKY-BAR
MINING COMPANY,
CALIFORNIA

REGULAR ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION
RESOLUTIONS, ETC.

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ROCKY-BAR MINING COMPANY.

CIRCULAR.

THE ROCKY-BAR MINING COMPANY was organized in July, 1849, as a *Labor Association*, and was primarily composed of only forty miners, who had been engaged in 1848 and 1849, in digging gold on the Big-Bar, contiguous to the Rocky-Bar, near the geographical centre of the gold region in California, and on the middle fork of the American River, about seventy miles from Sacramento city.

It was at first contemplated merely to excavate a race-way, and erect a slight dam to divert the water from the channel of the river, for the purpose of collecting gold from its original bed.

Public notices were duly posted, and all the requisitions of the *Lynch Code*, or miner's law, were complied with;—meetings were held—a committee appointed to examine and report, but finally, so formidable did the undertaking appear, that *forty* only, out of some hundreds of miners, although the report was favorable, had courage to embark in the enterprise.

These forty resolute and enterprising spirits, with willing hands, commenced the work in July, and continued upon it until November, suffering everything but death itself; from hard and scanty fare, from privation and disease, and from sickness and other causes, their numbers were reduced before the water was turned, to an average of twenty-five men; these in three weeks, at this late season, procured from the bed of the river one hundred and seven pounds, nearly all of which was *scale* gold, clearly indicating the rich character of the quartz from whence it came.

The rainy season setting in earlier than usual, and some weeks sooner than expected, the work was suspended, and having in the meantime ascertained that they were in possession of large veins of quartz supposed to be quite rich, and that their raceway with additional improvements would furnish a superior water power, capable at all seasons of the year of propelling a large amount of machinery, the company resolved to despatch their President and Secretary to New York, to dispose of a portion of their stock (160 shares in all) to emigrants bound to California the shares sold, to be worked by the purchasers during the ensuing year; the real object being to increase their numbers and strength, with a view of earning from the washings the means of paying for and erecting machinery on a somewhat extended scale, for crushing this quartz and separating the gold therefrom.

In March and April of the present year, as many of these shares were sold as it was thought advisable to dispose of, a few having been taken by California emigrants, but the most of them by persons on this side, who trusted (as the result proves wisely) to a change in the Company's plans of operation.

Conclusive and insuperable objections having been presented to the system of *joint-labor-association*, a set of regular joint stock articles were prepared in New-York with much care, and taken by the Secretary to California, and presented to the Company there, by whom they were unanimously adopted, and by whom also measures were promptly taken for providing the capital necessary for erecting the machinery as contemplated, as well as for paying a respectable dividend to stockholders, by employing labor on *wages*.

These articles of association, a copy of which is hereto annexed, and the several resolutions which follow, show the present position and general views of the Company.

In accordance with one of these resolutions, the President left San Francisco on the first day of August, with *dust* sufficient, as is supposed, to defray all the expenses attendant upon the purchase and shipment of the machinery, on the liberal scale contemplated, and he is now actively engaged in the premises, expecting to have it shipped in season to reach Sacramento City prior to the first of April next.

It is confidently believed, by good judges who are familiar with and have well examined the subject, that the quartz in the possession of the

Company is not only rich, but literally *inexhaustible*—that it costs little or nothing to produce it, and that the operations of this Company in working the same, cannot but be permanent, or at least continue so long as gold shall be of sufficient value to render the pursuit of it anything of an object.

The Rocky and the Big Bars are considered by the old miners as the richest, or to say the least, among the very richest portions of the gold region in California.

Fuel is not abundant in this locality, and could not be procured for supplying a steam-engine except by importation, and hence it is no exaggeration to say that the value placed upon the stock of this Company (\$1,000,000) is merely nominal, and no more, under the circumstances, than the actual value of the water power alone, to say nothing of the quartz veins and rich *diggings* in their possession.

Its position is, in many respects, favorable for conducting a large business, being accessible by wagons within two and a half miles, while a road can be cut out of the rock down the mountain the remaining distance, an improvement which will doubtless soon be effected.

The price of labor the present season is \$5.00 per day, and board, but it is expected that in another year it will be reduced to \$3.00, and the expense of board from \$1.25 the present cost, to \$1.00 per day. It will gradually be reduced still more, as the present system of mining becomes as it must, less and less productive, and more precarious. In 1849, labor was one ounce per day.

As to the revenue anticipated from the operations of this company by the aid of *machinery*, it may not be out of place to say a few words; in fact, it seems necessary to do so, though the subject is approached with no little hesitation and delicacy.

We are not unaware that anything which may be advanced on this point, will be regarded with more or less *distrust*, and be received with more or less *incredulity*. The utmost caution will therefore be observed, neither to deceive the public, or encourage extravagant ideas in the minds of the stock-holders.

It is in the first place freely admitted, that all calculations heretofore made on this subject, are wholly *speculative*. It is however not impossible that the wildest estimates may be fully realized.

As respects the abundance of gold in the foot-range of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, it can no longer be doubted by the most skeptical.

In no part of the globe has nature been so prolific in her supply of the precious metal. The innumerable and enormous masses of the pure gold, as well as those of gold and quartz combined, which, it may be said, have been and are *daily* being found in this region, establish the fact conclusively, that there is more gold in this foot-range of the Sierra Nevadas, than in all the world beside. When these extensive veins of quartz from which all the gold yet obtained was originally derived, shall be penetrated, who can tell what may not be discovered? As yet the business of mining has been confined to washing the earth, and with *rocker and tin pan*, separating the metal from the dirt: the original source of the gold has scarcely been disturbed.

Some members of this company who have been in California since the first discovery of gold, as well as others who have been there during the present season—persons, too, of good judgment, and reputed to possess no inconsiderable share of science in mineralogy and geology, entertain ideas in regard to the revenue of this company, which can only be regarded as *chimerical* and *visionary*, and which we would not even *desire* to see realized. They say, and *believe*, that with the contemplated machinery, one hundred tons of the quartz will be crushed per day, and that it will yield \$4.00 per pound. This would show an annual product, allowing three hundred days to the year, of *two hundred and forty millions of dollars*, a sum sufficient to revolutionize the commercial relations of the world.

Various other and more moderate estimates have been made, each of which produces a startling result, and none of which can here be seriously entertained.

The following, however, is a moderate calculation, and may with confidence be relied upon, viz.:

Quartz crushed per day, 40 tons, is	80,000 lbs.
Product of gold per lb., 20 cts.,	20
Yield per day,	\$16,000,00
Multiplied by the days in the year,	300
Annual product.	\$4,800,000
Allowing \$800,000 for all manner of expenses, including taxes or	

ties to the government, and there will remain a net profit to shareholders of 400 per cent. per annum, or about 33 per cent. per month.

When it is considered that by *steam-power* in Virginia and Georgia, from forty to sixty tons per day of quartz, less friable and much less easily pulverized, are crushed, and that no assay of the quartz of the Rocky-Bar has ever exhibited so small a product of gold; and when, too, it is considered that in the course of operations, veins may be discovered which will produce \$100 to the pound, numerous large specimens of which have already been found, the latter calculation, flattering as it may appear, cannot be regarded as in the least degree extravagant.

The attention of miners hitherto, has mostly been directed to the primitive mode of washing gold from the earth, and not to the use of machinery, and hence few are as yet aware of the importance of this company's possessions. By degrees, however, the tin pan and rocker will fall into disuse—and the mining will mostly be conducted by joint-stock companies with machinery, and then the monthly receipts of gold in the Atlantic states, will be greatly increased, and at the same time locations like this will be duly appreciated.

Unlike manufacturing and most other pursuits of industry, this is a business which, if profitable, pays its way from day to day, producing at once what is by other means only acquired indirectly, that is to say, the money itself, an advantage of no trifling consideration, and which will enable the company to make monthly dividends.

It remains to add a remark as to the title. This is as perfect as it can be under the present state of things, or until the government shall confirm it. It is possessory only, but cannot be disturbed or disputed, except by the government. In a word it is perfect, as regards all other parties. The general government desires improvements to be made, and the resources of the mines to be developed; and when it shall take any action in the premises, this company will have to comply with the terms which may be imposed, and their title will be absolute.

When this event shall occur, there will be no estimating the value of the stock of this company.

In pursuance of instructions, the Secretary has again returned to

New York, with a view of establishing a permanent office in that city, and of disposing of a limited number of shares in accordance with one of the resolutions hereto appended.

He also brings with him the means and authority for paying a dividend of 100 per cent. or \$250 per share, from the operations of the present season; besides which, ample provision has been made for all the expenses of getting up the machinery, in consequence whereof, all purchasers of stock are *assured* that no calls or assessments will be made upon them.

As it may be some weeks before a suitable office can be procured, it has been decided to name the first day of December for the payment of the dividends, and when the office shall be obtained, which will be as soon as possible, and of which due notice by newspaper advertisements will be given to the public, the Secretary will proceed to issue new stock to applicants, on the following conditions, viz.:

- 1st. No individual allowed to purchase more than 100 shares.
- 2d. The price to be \$100 per share, invariably.
- 3d. Payments to be made in money bankable in the City of New-York.
- 4th. And as far as it will be possible to control the matter, the stock will be fairly distributed among citizens of the *east* and *west*, the *north* and *south*.

As the stock will rapidly advance above par, so soon as that which is authorized by the Secretary to be sold, shall be taken, and it being no object of the Company to encourage speculation therein, it is recommended to persons remote from the city who may incline to purchase, that they send in their orders at an early day, through their correspondents in the city. Planters and others at the south, who are at a distance from commercial towns, are advised to authorize their factors on the sea-board to order such limited number of shares as they may desire, in the manner above stated.

The amount of stock to be sold is not large, and it is desirable to carry out the spirit of the resolutions by diffusing it as much as possible, the object being to add by the sale thereof to the character, the influence, and the stability of the Company.

In conclusion, we have only to say, that there is even less hazard in

purchasing the new than there was in taking the old stock, and that the foregoing remarks are published with no intention or desire of raising expectations, which may not be even more than realized.

PHILO D. MICKLES, *President*.

JAS. DELAVAN, *Secretary*.

NEW-YORK, NOVEMBER 4, 1850.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

WE, the subscribers, do declare by this instrument that we have associated ourselves together and adopted a Constitution as follows:

I. This Association shall be called the "ROCKY-BAR MINING COMPANY."

II. All persons who shall become owners of the Capital Stock of said association shall be members of said association; and said association shall continue until it shall be dissolved by a vote of two-thirds of its members.

III. The object of this association is to mine, and otherwise procure gold and other precious metals, gems, and precious stones, out of and from the locality known as the *Rocky-Bar*, being upon the Middle Fork of the American River, and such other localities as said Company may select in California, and to prepare the same for sale in the market, or for distribution among the members of the association.

IV. The Capital Stock of said association shall be one million of dollars, divided into ten thousand shares, of one hundred dollars each.

V. The said association shall not directly or indirectly deal or trade in buying or selling any goods, wares, merchandise, or commodities whatsoever, except for the purpose of carrying out the objects of this association as defined in the third article.

VI. No officer, or stockholder, or member of said association, can create a debt against the Company; nor shall the Company be liable for any trespasses or damages committed or suffered by any of its stockholders, officers, or agents of such officers.

VII. The stock, property, affairs, and concerns of the said association, shall be conducted by nine Directors, being stockholders of said association, and native or naturalized citizens of the United States, but no person shall be a Director, who shall not at the time of his election, hold, on his own account, and not in trust in any manner whatever for any other person, at least fifty shares of the stock of said association.

VIII. The first election to be held under these articles of associa-

ion, for the purpose of choosing the nine Directors in the next preceding article mentioned, shall be held on the Rocky-Bar upon the Middle Fork of the American River in California, in the month of July, on such day and at such hour as the Secretary may designate, and the Secretary and Treasurer are hereby appointed inspectors of such election. A notice of the time and place of holding said election shall be posted in three conspicuous places upon and about said bar, and such notice shall also be served upon each shareholder personally, who shall be within three miles of said Rocky-Bar at the time when said notice is required to be given.

IX. The Directors for Eighteen hundred and fifty-one, and every subsequent year, shall be elected on the first Wednesday of February of every year, at such time of the day, at the office in the city of New-York, as a majority of the Directors shall, immediately after their election, by resolution appoint; and such resolution shall be entered on the minutes by the Secretary; and said Directors, except the first chosen, shall hold their offices one year and until others are elected in their stead.

X. Public notice of every election, except the first, shall be given by the Directors not less than fourteen days previous to the time of holding such election, by an advertisement to be inserted daily, in two newspapers in the city of New-York.

XI. Each stockholder, at the time of any election, shall be entitled to one vote on each share of stock which he holds at the time of such election, and such vote or votes may be cast by proxy.

XII. All elections for Directors shall be by ballot; and the nine persons who shall have the greatest number of votes shall be Directors; and in case two or more persons shall have an equal number of votes, the Directors duly elected shall, by ballot, determine which of the said persons so having an equal number of votes, shall be Director or Directors, so as to complete the whole number.

XIII. If any Director shall cease to be a stockholder to the amount of fifty shares, his office shall be vacant; and whenever any vacancy shall happen among the Directors, such vacancy shall be filled, for the remainder of the year in which it shall happen, by such person as a majority of remaining Directors shall appoint.

XIV. The Directors elected, as soon as may be after their election, shall proceed in like manner, by a majority, to elect one of their number by ballot, to be their President; they shall also by a majority, elect a Treasurer and Secretary, by balloting for each separately.

XV. The Directors of said association shall have power to appoint from time to time so many clerks and agents, or servants for carrying on the business of the association, and with such compensation as they shall deem proper, and also to fix the salaries of the officers of the association.

XVI. The Directors shall also have power to make and prescribe such by-laws, rules, and regulations, as shall be needful, touching

1st. The government of said association, and the management and disposition of its stock, business, property, estate, and effects.

2d. The duties and conduct of the officers, agents, and servants, employed by said association.

3d. And all such matters as may pertain to the concerns of the association.

XVII. The Directors for the time being shall have power to levy assessments *pro rata* upon each share, in such sums as shall be necessary effectually to carry out the objects of the association; and in case of non-payment within some reasonable time which shall be appointed, the shares upon which payment is required, together with all previous payments thereon, shall be forfeited to said association. Notice of such assessment shall be published daily for one week, in a newspaper in the city of New-York, and when practicable, served personally, or through the post-office, upon each stockholder.

XVIII. It shall be the duty of the Directors of the said association to make dividends of the nett productions in specie, if practicable; if not practicable, then in an equivalent of money, once every month, or as often as in the opinion of said Directors, it may be for the interest of the stockholders.

XIX. No transfer of any stock in the said association shall be valid, until such transfer shall have been registered in a book to be kept for that purpose by said Directors; and the Secretary shall be entitled to a fee of fifty cents for making each transfer, and all books containing a record or statement of the affairs of said association, shall always be open to the inspection of any stockholder.

XX. Each share of the original stock of one hundred and sixty shares, shall be entitled to script or certificates for sixty-two and a half shares of the new stock of ten thousand shares.

XXI. It shall be the duty of the President, on the written request of three of the Directors, to call a meeting of the Directors.

XXII. At any meeting of the Directors, five shall be necessary to form a quorum.

XXIII. This association may sue or be sued in the name of the President for the time being.

XXIV. The office of the association shall be in the city of New-York, and the financial business of the association shall be done in that city.

RESOLUTIONS.

BIG-BAR, JULY 22, 1850.

At a meeting of a majority of the members of the "ROCKY-BAR MINING COMPANY," the report of the President and Secretary was read, and on motion, accepted. The following resolutions were then adopted:

Resolved, That owing to the comparative cheapness of labor, caused by the large immigration to this country, it is inexpedient to continue our labors under the present form of association.

Resolved, That from and after this date, we adopt the joint stock articles of association here presented, and that we now proceed to the election of a President and nine Directors, agreeable to said articles of association.

P. D. Mickles being put in nomination for the office of President for the remainder of the year, received the unanimous vote of the Company, and was declared duly elected.

John H. Hancock and James H. Ray, being nominated for the office of Directors, residing in California, and receiving a majority of the votes cast, were declared duly elected; and the following persons residing in New-York, were also nominated and elected Directors, to wit: Harvey R. Caldwell, H. P. Roberts, George S. Fitch, Henry Bange, John Conklin, Solomon Johnson, and John Young.

John H. Hancock was nominated and elected for Superintendent of the Works of the Company in California.

Resolved, That the Superintendent be paid one ounce a day for his services, and that he be required to make a statement and transmit the same once in two weeks, of his receipts and disbursements, to the Treasurer at Sacramento City, and also, once a month to forward to the President in the city of New-York, a like statement, and also to remit monthly to the Treasurer at Sacramento City, all surplus gold on hand, and take his receipt therefor.

Adjourned, to meet at the store of G. P. Post & Co., in Sacramento City, on the 29th inst., at 9 o'clock, A. M.

(Signed)

JAS. DELAVAN, *Secretary*.

SACRAMENTO CITY, JULY 29, 1850.

Pursuant to adjournment, the *Rocky-Bar Mining Company* met at the store of G. P. Post & Co., in Sacramento City.

On motion of Capt. John T. Hughes, the following preamble and resolutions were presented and adopted.

Whereas, the Rocky-Bar Mining Company have obtained possession

according to the customs of the mining population of California, of rights and privileges of almost inestimable value, and whereas, it is of the greatest importance to all interested, to secure for the Company, influence and character, in order to advance its prosperity, therefore

Resolved, That measures be taken to dispose of the stock of said Company among respectable and influential citizens in the various cities and towns in the States.

Resolved, That the President of the Company be and is hereby authorized to sell as many shares at the minimum price of one hundred dollars a share, as those shares would make which the original Company authorized their President, Mr. P. D. Mickles, to sell in New-York, and which were not sold, the same to be disposed of to persons of a good character and standing in the Atlantic States, and the proceeds thereof to be paid to the original stockholders, *pro rata*, according to their respective interests, or to their heirs or assigns.

Resolved, That all persons holding in their own right more than one hundred of the present shares, be solicited and urgently requested, the more effectually to secure the objects hereby sought, to furnish the Secretary of the Company full power of attorney to dispose of shares or stock at the prices and in the form above set forth, and for the purpose of adding strength and stability to the Company; the receipts arising from such sales of stock to be by said Secretary accounted for to those whose stock may be thus sold.

Resolved, That for the purpose of bringing the great importance of the Company into public notice, whereby its rights and privileges may be the more secure, the Secretary of the Company is hereby authorized to advertise said stock for sale in Washington, Charleston, New-Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and such other places as to him may appear advisable, and for this purpose the Treasurer of the Company is hereby authorized to pay out of any of the funds of this Company any liabilities so contracted, in amount not to exceed six hundred dollars, and this amount is hereby appropriated for this object.

Resolved, That the President be authorized to appoint agents to sell stock at any point or place in the United States or elsewhere, on such terms as he may think proper.

Resolved, That the President of this Company be requested to proceed to the United States by the steamer of the first of August, and visit the mines of Virginia and Georgia, to examine the machinery used for grinding or crushing the quartz rock, and to purchase such as he may think best calculated for these mines, and ship the same to Sacramento City, so as to be ready to be put up by the first of April, 1851.

Resolved, That the President is fully authorized to make such other purchases as he may consider for the interest of the Company, and pay therefor out of any money belonging to the Company.

Resolved, That the President is authorized, and hereby fully empowered to employ a person of experience in gold mining, to act as Superintendent, in aiding by his council and advice in the selection of suitable machinery, and in its erection in the mines.

On motion, the Company then adjourned *sine die*.

(Signed)

JAS. DELAVAN, *Secretary*.

WESTERN HISTORY

A CHECK LIST OF RECENT ITEMS RELATING TO CALIFORNIA AND THE WEST*

AUSTIN, MARY

Earth horizon. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1932. ix+381 pp., illus. 8vo. [Autobiography, including chapters on early life in the hinterland of California; General Beale, Jack London, George Sterling, and others.]

BAGLEY, CLARENCE B. [ed.]

Early Catholic missions in old Oregon, Vol. II. Seattle: Lowman and Hanford, 1932. 122 pp.

BEATTIE, GEORGE WM.

Reopening the Anza road. *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 1, March, 1933, pp. 52-71. [Discussion of the many efforts to reopen the all-land route between Alta California and Sonora, particularly the Romero-Caballero expedition of 1823, and the later attempts of Romero to reach the Colorado River from San Gabriel Mission.]

BECKMAN, ROY C.

The Romance of Oakland. Oakland: Landis & Kelsey, [copyrighted by the author] 1932. 32 pp. 8vo. [Pamphlet with some historical items.]

BLODGET, RUSH MAXWELL

Little dramas of old Bakersfield. Los Angeles: Carl A. Bundy Quill and Press, 1931. 222 pp., 12mo. [Little biographies, in a style reminiscent of "Spoon River."]

BROEK, JAN OTTO MARIUS

The Santa Clara Valley, California. A study in landscape changes. Utrecht: N. V. A. Oosthoek's Uitgevers-Mij., 1932. 185 pp. [In English and Dutch.]

BRUCE, ROBERT

The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts. Nebraska State Hist. Soc., 1932. 72 pp., illus., maps. ["Narratives and reminiscences of military service on the old frontier; mainly from extensive correspondence with L. H. North."]

CLOUDSLEY, F. C.

A Pioneer of pioneers [Fray Junipero Serra]. *Columbia*, Dec. 1932, pp. 10-11, 28.

COLLIGAN, JAMES A.

Some facts about Santa Barbara Mission. University of San Francisco Press, 1932. 45 pp.

CORMACK, ROBERT

Mother Lode map, incorporating mother lodes of California and Nevada, scenes of the "Romantic Days of Gold." Berkeley: California Art and Engraving Co., 1931. [Colored, comic lithograph showing historic points in the Sierra from Yosemite to the Feather River.]

COUTS, CAVE JOHNSON

From San Diego to the Colorado in 1849. The Journal and maps of Cave J. Coutts. Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1933. [Edited by William McPherson, and with an introduction by J. Gregg Layne. Limited to 130 copies.]

DE VOTO, BERNARD

Mark Twain's America. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1932. xvi+353 pp., illus. 8vo. [Includes chapters on the West.]

DOBBS, CAROLINE C.

Men of Champoege. Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press. [Oregon pioneers.]

DULLES, FOSTER RHEA

America and the Pacific. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932. xiii+299 pp., 8vo. [The factors and events which culminated in the acquisition by the United States of territory bordering upon or surrounded by the Pacific Ocean.]

ELLIOTT, T. C.

David Thompson's journeys in the Pend Oreille country. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, Jan. 1932, to No. 3, July, 1932.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary of the Society the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—CHARLES L. CAMP.

FROTHINGHAM, ROBERT

Trails through the Golden West. New York: Robert M. McBride, 1932. x+272 pp. 8vo. [Travelogue.]

GLASSCOCK, CARL BURGESS

Gold in them hills; the story of the West's last wild mining days. Bobbs-Merrill, 1932. 330 pp., illus., map. 8vo. [The great days of Tonopah, Goldfield, Rhyolite, Rawhide, written from personal experiences and interviews.]

GOODRICH, MARY [MRS. I. N. BREEDLOVE]

The timbers of the Western gate. Oakland, 1932. 173 pp. Privately printed in an addition of 100 copies. [Fiction with an historical background.]

GUTHRIE, JOHN

The Fetterman Massacre. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Oct. 1932, pp. 714-18.

GREY, KATHERINE

Rolling wheels. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1932. 339 pp., illus. 8vo. [Fiction, based upon the immigration of 1846.]

HAMMOND, GEORGE P.; HACKETT, CHARLES W.;

MECHAM, J. LLOYD; BINKLEY, WILLIAM C.;

GOODWIN, CARDINAL; AND RIPPY, J. FRED [editors]

New Spain and the Anglo-American West, historical contributions presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton. Los Angeles: privately printed [Lancaster Press] and copyrighted by George P. Hammond. Vols. I and II, xii+333 pp. and 277 pp. 8vo. Vol. I contains documents relating to Spanish America, Vol. II contains the following: Stockwell, Wilhelm G., "Pike on the upper Mississippi, 1805-1806." Ellison, William H., "Adventures of George Nidever." Brosnan, Cornelius J., "The Oregon Memorial of 1838 and its signers." New, C. T., "The Annexation of Texas." Goodwin, Cardinal, "Thomas Oliver Larkin: Description of California." Hafen, LeRoy R., "A report from [Thomas Fitzpatrick] the first Indian Agent of the Upper Platte and Arkansas." Wyllys, Rufus Kay, "Barstow's recollections [of California in 1849]. Binkley, William C., "Reports from a Texan agent in New Mexico, 1849." Coy, Owen C., "Josiah Gregg in California." Ellison, Joseph, "Diary [on the Oregon Trail in 1853] kept by Mrs. Maria A. Belshaw." Ross, Mary, "Writings and cartography of Herbert Eugene Bolton."

HEBARD, GRACE RAYMOND

The Pathbreakers from river to ocean. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1933. 312 pp., illus. [A brief history of the West, sixth edition, revised.]

HOOPES, ALBAN W.

Indian affairs and their administration, with special reference to the Far West, 1849-1860. Philadelphia: [University of Pennsylvania], 1932. 264 pp. inc. bib. and index.

IBERO-AMERICANA

[A series of publications from the University of California at Berkeley, devoted to studies in Latin American cultures and historical backgrounds. Four numbers have appeared, including: 1—Sauer, C. O., and Brand, Donald, "Azatlán, prehistoric Mexican frontier on the Pacific Coast." 2—Beals, Ralph, "The Comparative ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750." 3—Sauer, C. O., "The Road to Cibola." Routes of Coronado and earlier explorers.]

JAMES, WILLIAM F., and McMURRY, G. H.

History of San Jose, California. San Jose: A. H. Cawston, publisher. [Smith Printing Company, copyright by G. H. McMurry], 1933. 244 pp., illus. A "second edition" of 170 pp. omits the subscription biographies.

JOHNSTON, PHILIP

Gold trails of the Trinity. *Touring Topics*, Nov. 1932, pp. 10-17, 38.

KAMPS, NORMAN H., and ADRIAN, RUPERT

With an American artist in Mexico and early California. Pasadena: published by the authors, 30 North Raymond Avenue, 1933. [A series of plates with explanatory text. The limited first edition is hand colored.]

LEE, JOHN THOMAS

[Letters of] Josiah Gregg and Dr. George Engelmann. Edited with introduction and notes by John Thomas Lee. *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 41, Part 2, Worcester, 1932, pp. 355-404.

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER

Alexander Mackenzie's voyage to the Pacific Ocean in 1793. Historical introduction and footnotes by Milo Milton Quaife. Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1931. xi+384 pp., front., map.

- McMURTRIE, DOUGLAS CRAWFORD**
Pioneer printers of the Far West. San Francisco: Red Tower Press, 1933 [printed at Roosevelt Junior High School]. 12 pp. 16mo. [A resumé of the first presses from Santa Fe to Hawaii.]
- MASON, ARTHUR**
Come easy, go easy. New York: John Day Co., 1933. 272 pp., 12mo. [Adventures during the Goldfield boom in Nevada.]
- MIXER, KNOWLTON**
The Monterey House. *House Beautiful*, Feb. 1933, pp. 49-51, 59-60. [Adobe houses in Monterey, principally the Larkin house.]
- MONAGHAN, FRANK**
French travellers in the United States, 1765-1931. A bibliographical list. *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. 36, No. 3, March, 1932, to No. 10, Oct. 1932.
- NORRIS, KATHLEEN**
My San Francisco. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1932. 23 pp.
- ORANGE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY**
Orange County History series, Vol. 2. Published by the Orange County Historical Society. Press of the Santa Ana High School and Junior College, Santa Ana, California, 1932. 195 pp., illus. Contains:
Pleasants, Joseph E., "Crossing the plains in 1849"; McPherson, Wm., "Spanish and Mexican land grants of Orange County"; Davis, Samuel M., "The First decade of the Orange County Historical Society"; Moulton, Charlotte, "El Toro and its history"; Yoch, Josephine, "History of Laguna Beach"; Lopez, Olive Waite, "Early day newspapers"; Collings, Blanche, "Fairview, boom town"; Lewis, Harry W., "The Walnut industry of Orange County"; Pleasants, Adelina, "The Yorba family"; "Antonio Yorba's will" (translated); Utt, Chas. D., "Aviation in Orange County"; Stephenson, Terry E., "Names of places in Orange County"; Butt, C. E., "The Story of Tustin"; Zieman, J. J., "Tustin schools"; Livingston, Margaret, "The Bouchard invasion"; Ross, Orma R., "The Ross family in Santa Ana"; Gardner, Margaret, "The Community of Orange."
- PACIFIC LIGHTING CORP.**
Pacific Lighting Corporation, a description of the history and development of one of America's oldest utility groups. Printed for Pacific Lighting Corporation by Taylor & Taylor, Nov. 1931. 47 pp., illus. 8vo.
- PAXSON, FREDERIC L.**
A generation of the frontier hypothesis: 1893-1932. *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 1, March, 1933, pp. 34-51.
- PIKE, ZEBULON**
Zebulon Pike's Arkansas journal; in search of the southern Louisiana Purchase boundary line. Edited by Stephen Harding Hart and Archer Butler Hulbert. Denver: [Smith Brooks Printing Co., copyright by Archer B. Hulbert], 1932. xcvi+200 pp., illus. 8vo. Vol. I of "Overland to the Pacific," a series of western historical narratives to be published by the Stewart Commission of Western History at Colorado College under the general editorship of Prof. Archer B. Hulbert. Includes some of the material discovered by Professor Bolton in the archives of Mexico.
- PORTER, KENNETH WIGGINS**
John Jacob Astor, business man. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. 2 vols. x+1353 pp.
The Cruise of the "Forester"; some new sidelights on the Astoria enterprise. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, Oct. 1932, pp. 261-85.
- POWER, BERTHA KNIGHT**
William Henry Knight, California pioneer. Privately printed, 1932. [xii], 252 pp., illus.
- ROBINSON, W. W.**
The Story of Pershing Square Title Guaranty & Trust Co., Los Angeles, privately printed.
- ROXBURG, JAMES H.**
Street railroads. *South of Market Journal* [San Francisco], Vol. 7, No. 6, July, 1932, to No. 9, Oct. 1932. [San Francisco street railways of 1873.]
- SHIELDS, ARCHIE W.**
Sewards icebox. A few notes on the development of Alaska, 1867-1932. [Bellingham, Wash., privately printed, 1933.] 422 pp.
- SQUIRES, MONAS N.**
A new view of the election of Barton and Benton to the United States Senate in 1820. *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, Oct. 1932, pp. 28-45.
- STEVENS, IVALU DELPHA**
Bibliography of Ina Donna Coolbrith. Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1932. Reprinted from *News Notes of California Libraries*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 105-23.

TAYLOR, MRS. H. J.

The last survivor. San Francisco: Johnck & Seeger, 1932. iv+20 pp., illus. 8vo. [The story of Maria Lebrado, or To-tu-ya (Foaming Water), the last of the full-blooded Yosemite Indians, who died in Yosemite on April 20, 1931.]

TOLMIE, DR. WILLIAM FRASER

Diary. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, July, 1932, pp. 205-27. [Extracts from the diary of Dr. Tolmie, surgeon for the Hudson's Bay Co., describing his trip to Nisqually in 1833. Introduction by Edmond S. Meany.]

WAGNER, HENRY R.

The Los Angeles Star, volume one, number one. Los Angeles: Bruce McCallister, 1932. [Facsimile of the only known copy, with note by Mr. Wagner.]

WETTIG, A. F.

Billy Emerson and minstrelsy of the past. *South of Market Journal* [San Francisco], Vol. 7, No. 6, July, 1932.

WHICHER, JOHN

Masonic beginnings in California and Hawaii, with a sketch of noted Masonic personages. Published by order of the Grand Master, 1931. 91 pp., illus.

WHEAT, CARL I.

Ubiquitous Ned, . . . *Touring Topics*, March, 1933, pp. 14-15, 38. [Edward McGowan, the swashbuckler.]

WHITE, STEWART EDWARD

Ranchero, N. Y. Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1933, 302 pp. [Fiction, adventures in California during the Mexican period.]

ARIZONA HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. V, No. 4, Jan. 1933, contains: "The Autobiography of George Wiley Paul Hunt" (Chap. I), as told to Sidney Kartus; "Phoenix—A history of its pioneer days and people" (Chap. I), by James M. Barney; "Arizona place names," by Will C. Barnes; "A Description of Sonora in 1772," by Alfred Barnaby Thomas; "Kino of Pimeria Alta" (cont.), by Rufus Kay Wyllys; "Arizona pioneers: 1854-64" (cont.), [Francois Xavier Aubrey], by Frank C. Lockwood; "Some unpublished history of the Southwest" (Chap. VIII), Diary of Mrs. Granville Oury, annotated by Col. Cornelius C. Smith.

COLORADO MAGAZINE

Vol. IX, No. 5, Sept. 1932, contains: "The Mission of Colorado toll roads," by Arthur Ridgway; "The Contract with specifications for building Stout's pioneer cabin in Denver, 1858"; "Colorado cities—their founding and the origin of their names," by LeRoy R. Hafen; "Pioneer days in the upper Arkansas Valley," by Arthur Hutchinson; "Dedication of the Gregory monument"; "The Story of Cameron, Colorado," by S. E. Poet.

Vol. IX, No. 6, Nov. 1932, contains: "Gunnison in the early 'Eighties," by George A. Root; "The Threshing machine for the Meeker Indian Agency, 1879," by William Shelton; "The Smoky Hill trail," by Margaret Long, M.D.; "David Barnes, 'Father of Loveland,'" by Lena Barnes Gifford.

Vol. X, No. 1, Jan. 1933, contains: "Development of irrigation in the Arkansas Valley," by Joseph O. Van Hook; "Experiences in a mushroom mining camp," by T. H. Proske; "Mountain men—Louis Vasquez," by LeRoy R. Hafen; "A Preface to the settlement of Grand Junction," by Walker D. Wyman; "La Plaza de los Leones (Walzenburg)," by Louis B. Sporleder.

Vol. X, No. 2, March, 1933, contains: "Governor Waite and his silver panacea," by Leon W. Fuller; "The Founding of Fort Collins, United States military post," by Agnes Wright Spring; "Mountain men—John D. Albert," by LeRoy R. Hafen; "Experiences in Leadville and Independence, 1881-82," by Mrs. M. B. Hall; "Kit Carson County's ghost towns," by H. G. Hoskin; "Across the plains in a prairie schooner," from the diary of Elizabeth Keyes.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol. XV, Part I, 1931, contains: "A Great city celebrates its 150th anniversary," by Laurence L. Hill; "Governor Don Felipe de Neve" (chronological note), by Lindley Bynum; "Four reports by Neve, 1777-1779," trans. by Lindley Bynum; "Se fundaron un pueblo de Españoles" [founding of Los Angeles], by Thomas Workman Temple II; "Soldiers and settlers of the expedition of 1781" [genealogical record], by Thomas Workman Temple II; Documents pertaining to the founding of Los Angeles, translated by Thomas Workman Temple II, Marion Parks, Phil Townsend Hanna, and Charles F. Lummis; Spanish reprints of translated documents.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. VIII, No. 1, Jan. 1933, contains: "Bourke on the Southwest," by Lansing B. Bloom; "The Navaho exile at Bosque Redondo," by Charles Amsden.

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, Dec. 1932, contains: "Why History needs to be rewritten," by Robert Carlton Clark; "More about the brig Pedler, 1813-16," by Kenneth W. Porter; "Social History of Jackson County," by William Pierce Tucker; "Diary of Maria Parsons Belshaw, 1853," with introduction and notes by Joseph W. Ellison; "Portland public schools, 1845-71," by Charles N. Reynolds; "Spalding Mission, 1843," by Nellie B. Pipes; "Peter Corney's Voyages, 1814-17," by J. Neilson Barry.

QUARTERLY OF THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS

Vol. IX, No. 4, December, 1932, contains: "The First settlement of Yuba City," by Edward E. Chever; "My reminiscences," by George Holton Beach; "My reminiscences," by Jesse Healy.

SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, Jan. 1933, contains: "Frontier life in Southern Arizona, 1858-1861," by W. Clement Eaton; "Mrs. Angelina B. Eberly," by L. W. Kemp; "The Autobiography of George W. Smyth," with introductory note by Winnie Allen; "Diary of Adolphus Sterne," XXVI, edited by Harriet Smither.

WASHINGTON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXIV, No. 1, Jan. 1933, contains: "The Foundation of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company," by Leonard A. Wrinch; "Pioneer experience in Walla Walla," by William S. Clark; "About that 'valuable manuscript,'" by F. W. Howay; "Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth," by Philip Henry Overmeyer; "Dropping the 'h' from Port Townsend," by Edmond S. Meany; Documents—early letter from the Methodist Mission.

ANNALS OF WYOMING

Vol. 9, No. 3, Jan. 1933, contains: "Pioneer printing in Wyoming," by Douglas C. McMurtrie; "John W. Deane, Wyoming pioneer," by Charles Lindsay; "Fort Laramie," letter from W. H. Evans, Major 11th Ohio Cav. Vols., May 21, 1866; "Indian Troubles" (communications on Indian troubles of 1872-74).

Note: The Journal of Philip Leget Edwards and the Shirley Letters, recently published by the Grabhorn Press, will be reviewed in the next number of this *Quarterly*.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

DECEMBER 1, 1932, TO FEBRUARY 28, 1933

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MRS. LESLIE L. ARMSTRONG—Brandt, Fred, and Wood, A. Y., *Fascinating San Francisco*, S. F., 1924; Jordan, David Starr, *Care and culture of men*, S. F., 1896; Lichtenstein, Joy, *For the blue and gold*, S. F., 1901; McGlashan, C. F., *History of the Donner party*, S. F., 1918; Muir, John, *Travels in Alaska*, Boston, 1915; [O'Sullivan, St. John,] *Little chapters about San Juan Capistrano*, 1912; Spadoni, Adriana, *Noise of the world*, N. Y., c. 1921; Young, S. H., *Alaska days with John Muir*, N. Y., c. 1915; *Twenty-third anniversary of Society of California Pioneers*, S. F., 1873, and other pamphlets.

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Joaquin Murieta, S. F., Grabhorn, 1932; American Inst. of Architects, *John Galen Howard, 1864-1931*, [1931]; Armitage, Merle [and others], *Edward Weston*, N. Y., E. Weyhe, 1932 (photographs by Weston; autog.); Bender, Albert M., *To Remember Abraham and Max L. Rosenberg* (photographs by Ansel E. Adams, printed by J. H. Nash, S. F., parchment); Bland, Henry Meade, *Forty-seven poems*, 1928; Coolbrith, Ina D., *Perfect day*, S. F., 1881 (autog.); Harrison, Wm. Greer, *Some of the women of Shakespeare*, S. F., Murdock, 1898; Irwin, Inez Hayes, *Californiacs*, S. F., Robertson, 1916; Jeffers, Robinson, *Cavador*, N. Y., Liveright, 1928 (autog.); *Idem*, *Dear Judas*, N. Y., Liveright, 1929 (autog.); *Idem*, *Descent to the dead*, N. Y., Randon, c. 1931 (autog.); Keep, Rosalind A., *Fourscore years, a history of Mills College*, Mills College, 1931; McMurtrie, Douglas C., *Intro. and supplement to a history of Calif. newspapers*, S. F., 1931; Newcomb, Rexford, *Old mission churches . . . of California*, Phila., 1925; Simpson, A. P., *Problems women solved . . .*, S. F., 1915 (autog.); Stevens, Ivalu Delpha, *Bibliography of Ina Donna Coolbrith*, Sacramento, 1932; and other pamphlets.

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M.D.—Board of State Viticultural Commissioners, *Viticulture and viniculture in California*, Sacramento, 1885; Briggs, L. Vernon, *California and the West, 1881 and later*. [Boston], 1931; DeJarnatt & Crane, *Colusa County, California*, Oakland, 1886; Turrill, Chas. B., *California notes*, S. F., 1876; also miscellaneous pamphlets.

From REV. P. J. FOOTE, S. F.—Colligan, James A., *Santa Barbara Mission*, S. F., 1932.

From MESSRS. ALFRED and EMERSON KNIGHT—Power, Bertha Knight, *William Henry Knight*, priv. printed, 1932.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—*California Blue Book*, 1899; Black, A. C., *Sketches in prose and verse*, San Francisco, 1897; Selfridge, T. O., *Memoirs*, N. Y., 1924.

From MISS JUANITA MILLER—Allen, M. P., *Joaquin Miller, frontier poet*, N. Y., Harper, 1932; Miller, Joaquin, *Poetical works*, N. Y., Putnam, 1923.

From PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS—Hastings, L. W., *Emigrants' guide*, Princeton, 1932; Kelley, Hall J., *On Oregon*, Princeton, 1932; Langworthy, *Scenery of the plains . . .*, Princeton, 1932; Pike, James, *Scout and ranger*, Princeton, 1932.

From MR. ARCHIE W. SHIELDS—*Sewards icebox . . . Alaska, 1867-1932*, Bellingham, priv. print, 1933.

From MRS. H. J. TAYLOR—*The Last survivor*, S. F., Johnck & Seeger, 1932.

From U. S. CONGRESS—Charles F. Curry . . . *memorial addresses*, Washington, 1931.

From UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA—Hoopes, Alban W., *Indian affairs . . . Far West, 1849-1860*, Phila., 1932.

From MR. H. R. WAGNER—Bartlett, James W., *Trinity County, California*; Bidwell, John, *Echoes of the past*, and Steele, John, *In Camp and cabin*, Chicago, 1928; Chamisso, Adelbert von, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1836 (2 vols.); Calif. State Agricultural Society, *Constitutional laws . . .*, Sacramento, 1859; Davis, John F., *Founding of San Francisco presidio and mission*, S. F., 1926; Hodder, F. H., *The Railroad background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act*, 1925; Kendall, Geo. Wilkins, *Narrative of the Santa Fe expedition*, Chicago, 1929; Kinzie, Mrs. John H., *Wau Bun*, Chicago, 1932; Kohl, Johann Georg, *Asia and America*, Worcester, 1911; Lone, E. Miriam, *John Ross Browne . . . check-list*, N. Y., 1930; McKenzie, Alexander, *Voyage to the Pacific . . . 1793*, Chicago, 1931; Merriam, C. Hart, *Source of the name Shasta*, Washington, 1926; *Orange County History Series*, Vol. 2, Santa Ana, 1932; Parish, John Carl, *Trans-Mississippi West—By sea to California*, reprint, 1930; Parks, Marion, *Doors to yesterday . . . old Los Angeles*, L. A., 1932; Pattie, James O., *Personal narrative*, Chicago, 1930; Pierce, Hiram Dwight, *A Forty-niner speaks*, c. 1930; Rock, Francis J., *J. Ross Browne: a biography*, Washington, 1929; Sauer, Carl, *The Road to Cibola*, Berkeley, 1932; *First issue of Los Angeles Star . . . with a note by Henry R. Wagner*, Los Angeles, 1932.

From MR. JESSE M. WHITED—Ellis, Arthur M. (comp.), *Historical Review . . . Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, F. & A. M.*, 1929; Grand Lodge, F. & A. M., *Proceedings*, 1925; Humphreys, William P. (comp.) *Roster of Occidental Lodge No. 22, F. & A. M.*, S. F., 1925; Nixon, R. T., *History of Mount Moriah Lodge No. 44, F. & A. M.*; Palmyra Lodge No. 26, F. & A. M., *By-laws*, Decoto, 1907; Tehama Lodge No. 3, F. & A. M., *75th anniversary and roll call*, Sacramento, 1925; Whicher, John, *Masonic beginnings in California and Hawaii*, 1931; Whited, Jesse M., *California Lodge No. 1, F. & A. M.*, 1916.

From MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS—Fraser, J. P. Munroe, *History of Santa Clara Co.*, S. F., Alley, Bowen, 1881; Wilkie, Isabella, *Sonnets of the Sierra*, S. F., Johnck & Seeger, 1932.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Thompson, Wm., *Reminiscences of a pioneer*, S. F., 1912.

From MRS. C. L. WRIGHTSON—Deleissegues, Rebecca, and Mylar, Lucretia, *Early days in Corralitos and Soquel*, Hollister, [1929].

BROADSIDES AND FOLDERS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—"The Thinker," by Edwin Markham (autog.); "The Man with the hoe," Book Club, printed by J. H. Nash, S. F.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—*Circular of Society of California Pioneers*, Oct. 15, 1853.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS*

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M.D.—*Mendocino Beacon*, Nov. 26, 1881; *Independent Calistogian*, Nov. 16, 1881; *Contra Costa News*, Dec. 10, 1881; *S. F. Chronicle*, Sept. 21, 1881; portions of *Boston Transcript* and other newspapers.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—*Columbia*, Dec. 1932 (containing article on Junipero Serra).

*In addition to exchanges (which are not here listed) the Society receives regularly through the kindness of their publishers: *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*; *Westward*, a magazine of verse; *The Aerand*, a *Kansas Quarterly*; *Mining in California*; *University of Colorado Bulletins*.

From MR. JAMES MADISON—*The Collector's journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3, and Vol. 3, No. 4, 1932.

From MRS. H. W. TOULMIN—*House beautiful*, Feb. 1933 (cont. article about Larkin house at Monterey).

From MR. H. R. WAGNER—*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 2, April, 1931; *Publications of Historical Society of Southern California*, 1931.

MAPS

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M.D.—Map of California, State Board of Trade, 1892.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Map of Majorca, Balearic Is., showing birth-place of Fray Junipero Serra (pen and ink tracing and photostats).

From MR. H. R. WAGNER—Diseño which accompanied the application of Lazarus Everhardt for a grant of land in 1844.

PICTURES

From AMERICAN TRUST COMPANY—200 sets of fourteen colored reprints of early San Francisco prints. (Disposed of to members by permission of donor.)

From MRS. LESLIE L. ARMSTRONG—small framed photograph of John Muir.

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—The first sketch for "La Fete du Bourgmaistre . . . Van der Brook," by Joseph Raphael (autog.); photographs of Capt. Robert Dollar, Charles Erskine Scott Wood and Sara Bard Field (autog.), Julius Kahn (autog.), bust of Judge Seawell (autog. by Stackpole, sculptor), mural painting in S. F. Public Library (autog. by artist, Frank V. Dumond).

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M.D.—Many photographs of California scenes, principally of San Francisco in 1881, and a few of residents of California.

From MISS R. A. THOMPSON—Small framed photograph of Thomas Larkin Thompson.

From MR. H. R. WAGNER—13 water color paintings of California scenes in the 50's and early 60's and 1 of the Grand Canyon, by Lieut. James Alden of the U. S. Coast Survey, and Alden's sketch book of 28 pencil and water color sketches of the Fraser River country and California; early pencil sketch of Mission San Diego by Baldwin Möllhausen.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. LESLIE L. ARMSTRONG—Post cards of California scenes, souvenir booklets, newspaper and magazine clippings, etc.

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—"Before the Edwin Markham fireplace" (autog.) and "Star in the East," poems by Henry Meade Bland.

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M.D.—Many time-tables and other material relating to his trips to California in 1881-82, 1895, 1920, 1921, 1923.

From MRS. K. K. FARNHAM—Three letters from Miss L. A. Buckmaster, dated Sept. 1, 1857, Dec. 18, 1861 and Aug. 19, 1862.

From MR. F. A. THOMAS—Medal issued by British residents of California in commemoration of the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign, 1897.

From MISS R. A. THOMPSON—Biographical account of Thomas Larkin Thompson and 5 documents relating to his service as Secretary of State of California, Representative in Congress, and Minister to Brazil.

From MR. JESSE L. WHITED—Newspaper clippings, principally "Streets of San Francisco."

LOANS

From MRS. GERTRUDE BOYLE KANNO, sculptor—Busts of Luther Burbank, David Starr Jordan, William Keith, and John Muir.

From MR. GEORGE MORGAN, JR., artist—Pencil sketches of Swerer's Store at Tuttle town and old Wells Fargo office at Columbia.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THE Society met for luncheon on Wednesday, December 28, 1932, at the Clift Hotel. The speaker of the day was Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn and her topic, "The Wives of the 'Big Four'."

Mrs. Colburn prefaced her account of Mrs. Stanford, Mrs. Crocker, Mrs. Hopkins and Mrs. Huntington by saying that she had had personal contact with each of them in some degree while she was doing newspaper work, and that her estimate of their services to the community in which they dwelt was not a mere compilation of their benefactions. As she proceeded with her talk, reference was made to various contacts and expressions of opinion which had left lasting impressions on the speaker's mind of individual characteristics and opinions. Each lady was described in personal appearance and as she appeared in the setting of her associations. Reference was made to the impressive list of public and semi-public contributions to education and the arts, in which all of the group participated. The speaker gave her auditors a picture of each of her subjects that carried a real sense of personality.

About thirty-five members and guests were present.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society, which took place at luncheon at the Clift Hotel on Friday, the 27th of January, 1933, Mr. Douglas S. Watson was the speaker. His subject was, "The Old 'Enterprise' Gang—The Story of the Connection of Mark Twain, Joe Goodman and Others with the 'Virginia City Territorial Enterprise'."

After relating how Joe Goodman and his associates became connected with the "Enterprise," Mr. Watson gave a brief history of the paper. He called attention to the fact that no file exists as the fire in Virginia City destroyed what had existed, and a partial file built up by the Comstock Mining Companies from scattered papers was destroyed in the San Francisco fire.

It was therefore a source of great interest to Mr. Watson to have brought to his attention a series of letters from members of the "gang" to Joe Goodman which had recently come to light. Mr. Watson read a number of these letters, interweaving matters of personality and history. The effect was to bring back vividly an intimate picture of the group in the background of their youthful feelings and associations. There were fifty-three members and guests present.

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, February 28, 1933. Robert H. Lowie, Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, was the speaker, and his subject, "Relations of California Indians to Other Western Tribes."

He grouped the California Indians by their relations to the Indians of the Northwest Coast, to those of the Interior Basin and to those of Northern Mexico, Arizona and New Mexico. In each group he indicated the cultural characteristics that had come from their related tribes and some of the variations that changed environment had developed, calling attention to a few marked instances

such as the extensive agricultural development of the Yuman tribes. Linguistic relations were touched upon, as were the indications of origin of certain tribes to which these gave clues.

The speaker placed in perspective many facts well known to readers of California history as well as much knowledge of the Indians in general, that few people have at command. The orderly and comprehensive presentation of the subject gave a sense of proportion and completeness to the picture which was appreciated by all who were present. There were forty-two members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Society was held during the luncheon on Friday, January 27. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved, and the following Directors were elected for the year 1933: Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mr. Charles L. Camp, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Mr. Frederick C. Clift, Mr. Robert E. Cowan, Mr. Templeton Crocker, Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D., George D. Lyman, M. D., Mr. C. O. G. Miller, Mrs. Helen Throop Pratt, Mr. D. Q. Troy, Mr. Douglas S. Watson, Mr. Carl I. Wheat, and Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee. The Report of the Secretary and Treasurer for the year ending December 1, 1932, was read, as follows:

MEMBERSHIP

The year has resulted in a net loss of membership of 26. We had at the beginning of the year, according to our last year's report, 457 members. We elected to membership during the year 1932, 40. There resigned during the year, 42; died during the year, 12, and dropped for non-payment of dues, 12; leaving 431 members as of December 31, 1932. The deaths during the calendar year were really 11, but one death of 1931 was not reported to the Society until after the opening of the year.

MEETINGS

Seven Directors' meetings were held during the year, and the Society held eleven luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting. The luncheon meetings were as follows:

- Jan. 20—"The Truth about Fremont; an Inquiry." Mr. E. A. Wiltsee.
- Feb. 17—"Reminiscences of Sacramento, with special reference to Sutter's Fort." Mr. C. E. Grunsky.
- Mar. 23—"Memories of Ina Coolbrith." Mrs. Finlay Cook.
- April 10—"Visit to Sutter's Fort and California State Library, Sacramento.
- May 10—"Fray Junipero Serra." Rev. Augustine Hobrecht, O. F. M.
- June 22—"The Humor of the Mines." Mr. Leon O. Whitsell.
- Aug. 21—"At Mission San Juan Bautista. Dr. Charles L. Camp spoke on the history of the Missions, with special reference to San Juan Bautista.
- Sept. 21—"What the Indians Remember of the First Overland Traveler to California, Jedediah Smith." Mr. David Rhys Jones.
- Oct. 19—"Pioneers!—The Engaging Tale of Three Early California Printing Presses and Their Strange Adventures." Mr. Carl I. Wheat.
- Nov. 16—"The Water Supply of San Francisco and Vicinity." Mr. M. M. O'Shaughnessy.
- Dec. 28—"The Great Wives of the 'Big Four' (Crocker, Hopkins, Huntington and Stanford)—Their Contributions to the Cultural Life of the West." Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn.

EXHIBITS

In April a case of material relating to the works of Edwin Markham was exhibited in the Society's rooms, and the only other exhibit that we held during the year was a case of material at the Book Fair in the Museum in Golden Gate Park.

GIFTS AND LOANS

We have received large accessions to our library from Mr. Albert M. Bender, Mrs. Arthur L. Duncan, and Mrs. Melville Schweitzer. We are also indebted for gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, manuscripts, and other historical items, received during the year 1932, to the following:

American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, American Trust Company, Mrs. Leslie L. Armstrong, Mr. Albert M. Bender, Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mr. Ellis Block, Mrs. Mae Helene Bacon Boggs, Mrs. E. B. Bullock, Mrs. Luther Burbank, California State Mining Bureau, Mrs. Nannie Gatchell Castle, Caterpillar Tractor Co., Mr. J. C. Cebrian, Commonwealth Club of California, Mr. Robert E. Cowan, Miss Louise Curieux, Miss Eleanor M. Davenport, Mr. F. M. DeWitt, Mrs. E. M. Driscoll, Edison Institute of Technology, Carl Fischer, Inc., Mrs. K. K. Farnham, Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, Mrs. H. K. Fletcher, Fort Griswold & Groton Monument Commission of Connecticut, Fort Hays Kansas State Teachers' College, Thomas E. Gibson, M.D., Golden Gate Parlor No. 29, N.S.G.W., Mr. Edwin Grabhorn, Hawaiian Historical Society, Mrs. Theodore J. Hoover, Miss Dorothy H. Huggins, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Mrs. Walter R. Jones, Mr. John B. Kaiser, Miss Florence Keene, Miss Beatrice Kelliher, Estate of Jenny O. Rosenfield Laird, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Mr. P. H. Mason, Mr. M. Hall McAllister, Miss Emily McClatchy, Miss Etta McCue, Mrs. Charles M. Morris, Mrs. James C. Moss, Miss Eva Neff, Miss Eleanor O'Brien, Miss L. D. Patterson, Miss Mary E. Pease, Miss Elizabeth Peck, Mr. A. Sheldon Pennoyer, Mr. Charles R. Phillips, Powell & White, Princeton University Press, Mrs. Ransom Pratt, Mr. N. B. Randall, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Rensch, Rotary Club de Mallorca, Mr. James H. Roxburgh, Mr. E. O. Sawyer, Jr., Hon. Robert W. Sawyer, Mrs. Melville Schweitzer, Mrs. Jacob Schweitzer, Miss K. C. Sharpsteen and Mr. W. C. Sharpsteen, Society of California Pioneers, Stanford University Press, Xth Olympiad Committee, Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin, Mr. D. Q. Troy, University of Colorado, Miss Alice Van Pelt, Vermont Historical Society, Mr. H. R. Wagner, Mr. Robert Walsh, Mrs. V. R. G. Wilbur, Mrs. Francis Williams, Mr. A. G. Willson, Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee, Miss Lottie G. Woods, Worcester Historical Society, Mrs. George Wright, Mr. Rufus Kay Wylls, Wyoming State Department of History.

In addition to the foregoing loans and gifts the American Trust Company donated to the Society 200 sets of fourteen prints each, of early San Francisco views, which the Society has been offering for sale to its members.

Mr. H. R. Wagner purchased for the Society a series of water color sketches and pencil drawings made during the years 1855 to 1864 by Lieutenant James Alden of the Coast Survey.

Mr. Templeton Crocker's collection of books, manuscripts, maps and pictures has been at the service of the Society in its rooms throughout the year as in the past.

In addition we are indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker, Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman and Mr. C. O. G. Miller for gifts of \$250.00 each, made to the Society for the purpose of carrying on the activities during the year.

SERRA BIRTHPLACE

The Society participated as sponsor in the gift of the birthplace of Fray Junipero Serra in Petra, Island of Mallorca, to the City and County of San Francisco, by the Rotary Club de Mallorca. Incidentally it assembled and sent to Mallorca a series of pictures, books and relics for a permanent exhibit at Petra. The pictures of this collection were exhibited at Courvoisier's Galleries before they were sent.

FINANCIAL

The receipts and disbursements of the Society for the year were as follows:

Cash on hand January 1, 1932.....		\$353.96
Receipts during 1932:		
Dues of Patron Members.....	\$1600.00	
Dues of Active Members.....	3797.50	
Back dues of Active Members.....	30.00	
Advance dues of Active Members.....	120.00	
Rebate on luncheon postals.....	4.26	
Sale of Quarterlies.....	113.00	
Sale of pamphlets and California Star reprints.....	27.67	
Sale of colored prints of San Francisco.....	110.00	
Sale of Special Publications:		5802.43
Spanish Voyages.....	\$ 55.00	
De Massey and Hollingsworth.....	12.01	
Pioneer Miner and Pack Mule Express.....	228.62	
Trask Map.....	12.00	
Postage and express on Pioneer Miner and Map.....	6.22	
From Templeton Crocker toward rental.....	\$ 900.00	313.85
Gifts from other sources.....	820.00	
		1720.00
Disbursements:		\$8190.24
Rental.....	\$2475.00	
Salary of Corresponding Secretary and substitute.....	1666.25	
Telephone, telegraph, and cable.....	106.07	
Office supplies.....	86.25	
Library supplies.....	13.60	
Luncheon meetings.....	168.50	
Refund of dues.....	5.00	
Quarterly.....	2521.45	
Miscellaneous printing.....	7.50	
Bookcase and locks.....	35.00	
Expenses in connection with Serra birthplace gift.....	290.40	
Exhibit.....	8.00	
Exhibit sub-committee in charge of rooms.....	8.15	
Alden sketches.....	50.00	
Bank tax and collection charges.....	2.17	
Postage and miscellaneous.....	136.09	
		\$7579.43
Repaid H. R. Wagner for sales of Spanish Voyages.....	51.46	
Postage on above.....	2.82	
Repaid E. A. Wiltsee for sales of Pioneer Miner and Trask Map.....	190.06	
Pioneer Miner expenses.....	28.50	
Reprint of California Star.....	9.50	
Expenses of colored prints of San Francisco.....	27.53	
		309.87
Cash on hand December 31, 1932.....		300.94
		\$8190.24

It is to be noted that at the end of the year 1932 the Society was indebted for current accounts in the amount of \$577.48. Heretofore no such indebtedness has been carried over against the cash balance shown. As against the foregoing showing we can report that the Publication Committee has worked out a budget for the year 1933 of about \$500.00 less than for the year 1932. In addition a saving in rent for the year 1933 should enable us to recover the financial status of the beginning of the year 1932. Our publication fund contains at the present time, \$962.80, which includes the interest credited during the year, of \$29.14. The special publications of the Society issued during the year included the reprint of the *California Star* and the gift of the colored prints of early San Francisco from the American Trust Company but no books were published.

Respectfully submitted,
ANSON S. BLAKE,
Secretary.

IN MEMORIAM

GEORGE PARMELEE CASTLE

George P. Castle, who was born at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, on April 29, 1851, and was educated at Punahau School, Honolulu, University of Michigan and Detroit Medical School, died on July 8, 1932, having been a member of this Society for five years. He was known as a capitalist and philanthropist, and at one time was a member of the Advisory Council of the Republic of Hawaii. He was a partner in the firm of Castle & Cooke, and director of several financial institutions in the Islands. In 1879 he married Ida Mary Tenney, of Plainfield, New York.

CHARLES J. DEERING

On February 28, 1933, Charles J. Deering died in San Francisco after an illness of several weeks. He was born in this city in the year 1860, but as a young man went to Honolulu and acquired his first banking experience with Bishop and Company of that city. Returning later to San Francisco, he became cashier of the United States Mint. In 1893 with the organization of Union Trust Company of San Francisco he was appointed its cashier, and in 1920 became its president, serving in that capacity until its merger with Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co. Thereafter and until his death he was first vice-president of the merged institution.

Mr. Deering is survived by his widow, a daughter of Judge Morris Estee, who in his day was one of the most eminent attorneys and prominent political leaders of California.

Mr. Deering's kindness and uniform courtesy combined with a rare gentleness of disposition and a readiness to be of service on any and all occasions to his community and his friends, made him a beloved figure to all who were privileged to know him.

SIDNEY M. EHRMAN.

MARK L. McDONALD, JR.

Mark L. McDonald, Jr., was the son of one of the well known McDonald brothers who contributed so largely to the development of California. He was born in San Francisco on June 6, 1869, and spent his boyhood in California. He went to Princeton and graduated with the class of 1889. After graduation he became associated with his father in his numerous enterprises, and, after his death, assumed their management. He was always interested in all matters pertaining to his native state. He is survived by his widow, a son and a daughter.

ANSON S. BLAKE.